ASCRIBE TO THE LORD

Biblical & other studies
in memory of

Peter C. Craigie

edited by
Lyle Eslinger & Glen Taylor

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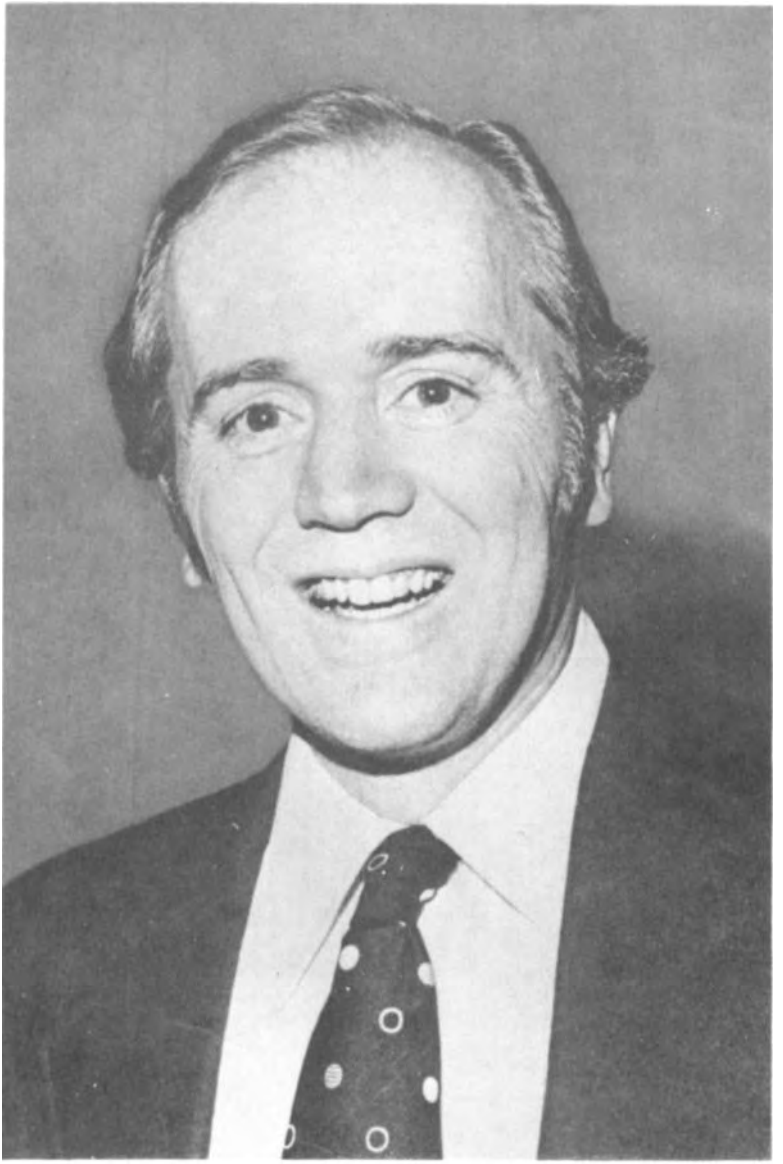

Professor Peter C. Craigie

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PREFACE

Shortly after the shock of Peter Craigie's death in September of 1985 there was widespread feeling among Peter's Canadian colleagues that a collection of essays should be written in celebration of his life and dedicated to his memory. Students, teachers, and colleagues were asked to write essays primarily in the fields of Biblical and Ugaritic studies, Peter's greatest academic loves. The wide range of scholars who responded to our invitation is itself a testimony to the impact that Peter made on his discipline.

For a man only forty–seven years of age at the time of his death, Peter Craigie had left a strong impression on his world. Among his many accomplishments he wrote seven books and more than forty articles (see the bibliography in the appendix); those who knew him, however, will remember him more for his humanity and the strong personal impressions that he left on all who met him.

Peter was a tall, dignified Scots-Canadian whose warm spirit and charming humour functioned in tandem with a quiet yet confident Christian faith evident in profound integrity and genuine concern for others. He seemed to rise effortlessly to the top in every aspect of his career. In spite of heavy demands on his time he neglected little in his professional duties, from courteous responses to undergraduate term papers in need of extensive correction to native anglican ordinands above the arctic circle or a Salvation Army mens' group in need of a speaker at a Saturday morning breakfast group. This collection of

essays, then, is a tribute to Professor Craigie from only one of the communities to which he made a contribution.

A few words are in order concerning the format of the present volume. The format is based on that adopted by *JBL* and *CBQ*. Where possible Ugaritic texts, plagued by a variety of classification methods, are assigned the number used in *KTU*. All of the essays but two are presented exclusively with footnotes for the reader's convenience.[1]

Thanks are due to several people who helped to make this volume possible:

In Toronto

Mr. Christopher Barrigar assisted in looking up missing bibliographic information and Mr. Myran Faust did a large portion of the textual indexes. Some typing work was done by Ms. Cathy O'Connor.

In Calgary

Thanks to the following people for their contributions to the memory of Peter through the help they gave in putting together the volume: Brian Chellas, dean of Humanities (U. of C.), for help with a trip to Atlanta to meet with the publisher; Avril Dyson (Rel. Stud., U. of C.), for typing the draft copy of the essays; my wife, Gloria Eslinger, for the

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1 The notes for Eslinger's and Foley's essays overtaxed the already burdened page formatting capabilities of the software used to layout the volume. Eslinger's essay was revised to accommodate, as much as possible, footnotes; simple citations or references were embedded in the text of the essay. Readers are asked to forbear the blank spaces that appear between notes and the essay on some pages, an aesthetic deficiency more than compensated by the convenient presence of notes at the bottom of the referrring page. For those curious about such matters, the volume was produced using Microsoft Word on Macintosh computers and an Apple Laserwriter printer.

author index; Larry Katz (Physical Education) and his staff (Computer Sport System Group) for the generous provision of printing facilities; Leslie Kawamura, department head (U. of C.), for providing contingency funding from the department; Shirley Royton, for a rush copy job of the final proofs; Peter Krueger, academic vice president (U. of C.) and Norman Wagner, president (U. of C.), for making financial assistance for production costs available. Thanks also to my colleagues in the department of Religious Studies, for their advice and moral support.

Lyle Eslinger

Glen Taylor

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHW	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*
ANEP	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near East in Pictures*
ANET	J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
BASOR	Bulletin, American Schools of Oriental Research
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BHK	R. Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*
Bib	*Biblica*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BO	*Bibliotheca orientalis*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*

CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques*
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
EA	El-Amarna
HALAT	W. Baumgartner et al., *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDBSup	Supplementary volume to *IDB*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JB	A. Jones (ed.), *Jerusalem Bible*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSS	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament–Supplement Series*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*
KAT	E. Sellin (ed.), Kommentar zum A.T.
KJV	*King James Version*
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*
MDB	*Le monde de la Bible*

MDOG	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient–Gesellschaft
NAB	*New American Bible*
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB	*New English Bible*
NIV	*New International Version*
OLP	Orientalia lovaniensia periodica
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studien*
PRU	*Le Palais royal d' Ugarit*
RA	*Revue d' Assyriologie et d' archéologie orientale*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RES	*Répertoire d' épigraphie sémitique*
RHR	*Revue de l' histoire des religions*
RS	Ras Shamra
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*
RSP	L. Fisher ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels*
RSV	*Revised Standard Version*
RV	*Revised Version*
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
TWAT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
UF	*Ugarit–Forschungen*
Ugaritica III	(GT see immediately below; standardize as Ugaritica and add bibliographic info relevant for whole series)
Ugaritica V	J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, Ch. Virolleaud, C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica V* (Mission de Ras Shamra 16; Paris; Paul Geuthner, 1968)
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum, Supplements

ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina–Vereins*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

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PART A

Ancient Near Eastern Studies

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QUE MERE SE REJOUISSE DE PERE
TRADUCTION ET COMMENTAIRE DE *KTU* 2.16

J.–L. Cunchillos
31, Bld Lefebvre, 75015 Paris

KTU 2.16 est une tablette conservée entière dont les dimensions sont les suivantes: hauteur 85 mm, largeur 55 mm et épaisseur 21mm. Trouvée aux Archives Est en 1951 au point topographique 72 à 70 cm de profondeur selon *Ugaritica III*, p. 81. On trouvera une autographie dans l'editio princeps de Ch. Virolleaud in *PRU II*, p. 31 et une photo du recto dans *PRU II*, pl. IX. *KTU* 2.16 est connue aussi sous les sigles et numeros *UT* 1016; *PRU* II, no. 15; RS 15.08; DO 3901. Voici la traduction que nous proposons:

1 Message de Talmi[yanu].
2-3 A Šarelli, ma mère, dis!

4a Que la paix soit avec toi!
4b-6a Que les dieux d'Ugarit te protègent, te conservent la santé!
6b-8 Que ma mère sache que je suis entré devant le Soleil!
9-10a Et la face du Soleil a brillé avec éclat en ma faveur!
10b-11 Que Mère se réjouisse à cause de Père!
12-13 Et qu'elle ne se préoccupe pas! Je suis un Ḫuradu fort.
14-15 Auprès de nous tout va bien!
16-18 Que tout aille bien auprès de ma mère!
19-20 Qu'elle m'envoie une réponse!

Commentaire

Ligne 1

"Message[1] de Talmiyanu." Talmiyanu est un anthroponyme hourrite. Il signifie probablement "le Grand."[2] Bien attesté en dehors d'Ugarit à Nuzi,[3] à Alalakh[4] et en pays Hittite.[5] A Ugarit et en écriture alphabétique apparait dans *KTU* 2.11:3; 2.12:4; 2.16:1 (notre texte, où il est en partie restitué); 4.84:7; 4.226:4; 4.352:8; 4.379:2; et en écriture syllabique dans RS 12.34:21; 15.81:9; 16.145:5; 18.02:18. De la lecture de ces textes on déduit facilement que Talmiyanu, à Ugarit, est un anthroponyme attribué à différentes personnes homonymes.[6]

Lignes 2-3

Tryl et Šarelli. Depuis Cl. Schaeffer[7] on considère acquise l'identification de *tryl* avec *šar-el-li* des textes syllabiques.[8] Šarelli est un nom hourrite féminin.[9] E.A.

---

1 Sur l'étymologie de *tḫm* voir C.H. Gordon in *UT*, no. 2542. A. L. Kristensen ("Ugaritic Epistolary Formulas," *UF* 9 [1977] 144) souligne l'usage de *tḫm* dans les textes littéraires.

2 Voir à ce propos J.–L. Cunchillos, "Una carta paradigmática de Ugarit," *Homenaje a Luis Alonso Schökel* (Madrid: Christiandad, 1983) 66-68.

3 Voir I. Gelb, P. Purves, A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943) 262.

4 Voir D. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953) 149 et passim.

5 Voir E. Laroche, *Les Noms des Hittites* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1966) no 1228ss; *id.*, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1980) 253.

6 Voir Cunchillos, "Una carta paradigmática," 68.

7 *Ugaritica III*, 80-81.

8 *Ugaritica V*, no. 159:9-10.12; no. 160:10.13 (?).

9 Voir F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Studia Pohl 1; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1967) 418, 223, 249.

Speiser[10] explique *ṯryl* de la façon suivante *šarri-elli* > **šarri-ela-ni* > **šarelli*, "roi-soeur-la." Mais un composé de ce type "du roi la soeur" est aberrant en grammaire hourrite selon E. Laroche.[11] Reste à savoir si Šarelli est un anthroponyme ou un nom de fonction.[12]

umy, "ma mère." "Mère" est à comprendre au sens social du respect dû aux souverains. Les lignes 10-11 où *ṯryl* appelée "mère" est opposée au Roi Hittite appelé "père" semble le prouver. Voir plus loin. Dans la correspondance ougaritique on utilise souvent les appellatifs "père" et "mère," "frère" et "fils." Ces appellatifs sont l'expression d'une forme de respect sans aucune allusion ni à la parenté générative ni à la consanguinité. Ils ne sont donc pas à prendre au sens propre ou génératif. Il est significatif, à cet effet, que l'expéditeur de *KTU* 2.14 s'adresse à son correspondant l'appelant à la fois *aḫy* et *bny*.

L'impératif *rgm* s'addresse au chargé d'affaires ou messager.[13]

Ligne 4a

Cette phrase est la salutation au sens strict que nous différentions des voeux.[14]

---

10 *Ugaritica V*, 262 n. 1.

11 Laroche, *Glossaire*, 218 sous *šarri*.

12 Voir M. Dietrich — O. Loretz, "Kennt das Ugaritische einen Titel *Aḫat-milki* = *Šar-elli* = *Ṯryl* 'Schwester des Konigs?'," *UF* 15 (1983) 303.

13 Voir J. -L. Cunchillos, "Etude du *mal'āk*: Perspectives sur le *mal'āk* de la divinité dans la Bible hébraïque," *Congress Volume, Vienna 1980* (ed. J.A. Emerton; VTSup 32; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 42-43.

14 Pour plus de details voir l'introduction de Correspondance Ougaritique à paraître dans *Textes Ougaritiques II*.

Lignes 4b-6a

La phrase reproduit les Voeux à teneur religieuse.[15]

Lignes 6b-8

umy td'.ky.'rbt 1 pn.špš, "Que ma mère sache que je suis entré devant le Soleil!"

td'. 3ème personne féminine du singulier, forme jussive, de *yd'*, le verbe principal de la phrase; *ky* = *k+y*, particule *k* plus pronom suffixe de première personne singulier suivis de *'rbt*, première personne singulier qatala de *'rb*; *1 pn*, littéralement "à la face." *špš* est le Titre ou l'épithète d'un Grand Roi, ici probablement du roi Hittite. L'usage de cette epithète souligne la dépendance d'Ugarit par rapport au Roi Hittite.

Lignes 9-10a

nr, "a brillé," de la racine *nyr*.[16] *KTU* 2.13:18 en est un texte parallèle. *mid*, littéralement "beaucoup," peut être traduit "grandement" ou "avec éclat" pour des raisons stylistiques. *by*, "en ma faveur," = préposition *b commodi* + suffixe première personne. La structure de la dernière phrase *w pn.špš.nr by.mid* est donc: sujet + verbe + datif + adverbe.

Lignes 10b-11

w um tšmḫ.mab, "Que Mère se réjouisse de Père!" ou "Que la Mère se réjouisse du Père!," est une allusion claire dans ce contexte à Šarelli et au Soleil. La forme jussive de *šmḫ* est caractéristique du style épistolaire. On remarquera la différence entre *umy* de la ligne 6 et *um* de la ligne 10. L'opposition que nous voyons entre *um* de la ligne 10 et *ab*

---

15 Voir J.-L. Cunchillos, "La religiosité quotidienne dans la correspondance d'Ugarit,"*RHR* 201 (1984) 230-34 où nous utilisons encore la dénomination de salutations.

16 Voir Gordon, *UT*, no. 1644.

de la ligne 11 permet de tenir compte du manque de suffixe après *um* à la ligne 10.[17]

mab. *KTU* propose de corriger en *mad*, proposition faite auparavant par J. Blau et S. Loewenstamm.[18] En 1959 J.C. Greenfield modifiait *mab* en *mid*.[19] J. Aistleitner[20] lisait [ʾ]*m ab*. D. Pardee[21] refute, non sans raison, ces modifications et, à la suite de E. Lipiński,[22] propose l'anthroponyme *Maʾabu*.

Il nous semble préférable de voir dans *mab* = *m*+*ab*. Quant au syntagme *śmḫ m(n)* voir D. Pardee[23] qui cite deux exemples hébreux Prov 5,18 et Eccl 2,10. Je retiens Prov 5,18 comme le meilleur parallèle de notre texte. Il est vrai que l'existence de la préposition *m*- en ugaritique suscite des réticences.[24] D'autres avaient pensé auparavant à décom-

---

17 D. Pardee "Ugaritic," *AfO* 31 (1984) 221 signale la différence entre *umy* de la ligne 6 et *um* de la ligne 120, mais il traduit les deux "ma mère."

18 J. Blau and S. Loewenstamm, "Zur Frage der Scriptio Plena im Ugaritischen und Verwandtes," *UF* 2 (1970) 22 n. 16.

19 J.C. Greenfield, "Lexicographical Notes II," *HUCA* 30 (1959) 144 n. 14; *id*., Review of M. Dahood, *Ugaritic–Hebrew Philology*, *JAOS* 89 (1969) 176.

20 J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin: Akademie, 1963) no. 2626 sous 3*b.

21 Pardee, "Ugaritic," 221.

22 E. Lipiński, "Ahat-milki, Reine d'Ugarit, et la guerre du Mukish," OLP 12 (1981) 97-99.

23 D. Pardee, "The Preposition in Ugaritic," *UF* 7 (1975) 371; 8 (1976) 270; *id*., "Attestations of Ugaritic Verb / Preposition Combinations in Later Dialects," *UF* 9 (1977) 228.

24 Voir M. Dietrich — O. Loretz, "Zweifelhafte Belege für ug. *m(n)* 'von,'" *UF* 12 (1980) 183-87 notamment 185-186. Une explication originale de l'usage peu fréquent de *min* en ugaritique est proposée par K. Aartun, "Präpositionale Ausdrücke im ugaritischen als Ersatz für semitisch *min*," *UF* 14 (1982) 1-14.

poser *mab* en *m+ab*,[25] mais ils n'avaient pas identifié le "père." Le Père, *ab*, désigne ici le Roi Hittite, en parallélisme avec "Mère" dit de *Tryl* Talmiyanu maintient des rapports de respecteuse déférence tant vis-à-vis de *Tryl* que du Roi Hittite.

Le sens de la phrase est donc le suivant: Šarelli peut se réjouir de l'attitude bienveillante du Roi Hittite à l'égard de Talmiyanu, et peut-être aussi à son propre égard.

Ligne 12

On Remarquera tout d'abord que la missive est entièrement rédigée à la troisième personne, signe sans doute de déférence. Le sujet de la phrase est *um* de la ligne 10. Les deux phrases sont liées par la conjonction *w* de la ligne 12.

Virolleaud[26] ainsi que *KTU*[27] lisent *trḫln* de **rḫl*. Virolleaud lisait aussi cette racine dans la copie de *CTA* 36:10 [=*KTU* 1.45:10][28] que A. Herdner corrige.[29] Ce texte devient un hapax que Virolleaud comprenait dans le sens de "Ne te déplace pas" en pensant à l'arabe *raḥala*.[30] W. von Soden, de son côté, traduit "Ne voyage pas jusqu'ici!"[31] K. Aartun[32] rejette les opinions précédentes et propose "se préoccuper de quelqu'un" fondé sur l'arabe *rḫl* "rassasier" au sens métaphorique appliqué à l'âme, à la psyché.

---

25 Voir bibliographie dans Dietrich — Loretz, "Zweifelhafte Belege," 185 n. 33.

26 *PRU II*, 31.

27 *KTU*, 145.

28 *CTA II*, fig. 83.

29 *CTA I*, 122 n. 12.

30 *PRU II*, 31.

31 Voir Dietrich — Loretz — Sanmartín, "Lexicographie (XI)," 27, 36.

32 Aartun, "Neue Beiträge zum ugaritischen Lexikon (II)," *UF* 17 (1985) 26.

D. Pardee,[33] après une nouvelle collation lit *twḫln* de la racine *wḫl* et traduit "qu'elle ne soit pas découragée"[34] en s'appuyant sur *yḫl* connu, entre autres, en hébreu. La racine *wḫl* serait aussi un hapax en ugaritique. La ressemblance en écriture cunéiforme alphabétique entre *r* et *w* laisse toujours un doute sur le signe d'origine, enfin la morphologie de *wḫl*, verbe *p' w*, présente des difficultés.

Ligne 13

ʿtn. *KTU* propose la modification de *ʿtn* en *ʿnt*.[35] Rien n'oblige à changer le texte si jamais cette modification était possible.[36] Il est préférable avec Aartun[37] de voir dans *ʿtn* un adjectif, voire un participe actif réclamé par le pronom personnel *ank*, comme l'arabe *ʿātin* "fort."

ḫrd "Combatant," "Garde."[38] L'appui philologique se trouve dans l'akkadien *ḫurādu*.[39] D'après le contexte, Talmiyanu ne peut pas être un simple "soldat." D. Pardee[40] traduit *ʿtn ḫrd* "le gardien de l'armée."

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33 Pardee, "Ugaritic," 220.

34 *Ibid.*, 221.

35 Voir déjà à ce propos Dietrich — Loretz — Sanmartín, "Lexikographie (XI)," 34; Dietrich — Loretz, "Einzelfragen zu Wörtern aus den ugaritischen Mythen und Wirtschaftstexten," *UF* 11 (1979) 198.

36 Aartun, "Neue Beiträge," 13-14.

37 *Ibid.*

38 Voir I.M. Diakonoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch* (Munchen: R. Kitzinger, 1971) 38, 66, 76, 78; M. Liverani, "Il corpo di guardia del palazzo di Ugarit," *RSO* 44 (1969) 191-92; M. Dietrich — O. Loretz — J. Sanmartín, "Lexicographie (XI)," 27-28.

39 *AHW*, 357; *CAD Ḫ* 244-45. Voir aussi M. Heltzer, "Some Problems of the Military Organization of Ugarit: Ugaritic *ḫrd* and Middle-Assyrian *ḫurādu*," *OrAnt* 18 (1979) 245-53.

40 Pardee, "Ugaritic," 220-21.

Lignes 14-15

"Auprès de nous" *ʿmny*. On peut traduire aussi "auprès de moi" selon que l'on prend comme suffixe *–ny* ou simplement *–y*. Nous estimons que, dans cette formule, l'expéditeur ne parle pas seulement de lui mais encore de son entourage. *šlm kll* "tout va bien." L'ordre habituel *kll šlm* est ici interverti. *šlm* est une forme *qtl* avec valeur de présent.[41]

Lignes 16-18

L'auteur exprime son souhait par le biais grammatical d'un *qatala* optatif *šlm*.[42] Le *w* établit la liaison entre la situation satisfaisante de l'expéditeur exprimée aux lignes 14-15 et celle qu'il souhaite au destinataire (lignes 16-18).

Lignes 19-20

ʿmy. tṯṯb rgm. Du point de vue grammatical cette phrase est indépendante de la précédente. *tṯṯb* est une 3ème personne féminine du singulier de la forme *yqtl*. Le remplacement de l'habituelle deuxième personne de l'impératif par la troisième indique une forme de politesse respectueuse. Par ailleurs la phrase est une demande d'information sur la situation du destinataire. Jusqu'à présent il a été seulement souhaité qu'elle soit bonne, sans en avoir la certitude.

La lettre *KTU* 2.16 est toute rédigée à la troisième personne. Il nous semble déceler dans ce fait la forme de politesse la plus respectueuse ou sorte de "vouvoiement." Les lignes 10b-11 apportent la preuve de critique interne concernant le sens figuré des appelatifs "mère" et "père" appliqués aux rois voire aux supérieures. Les témoignages de critique externe ne manquant pas, il faudra donc remettre en question certaines filiations de personnages nommés à Ugarit.

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41 Voir J.-L. Cunchillos, "Que tout aille bien auprès de ma mère! Un *qatala* optatif en ugaritique?," *Salvación en la palabra. Homenaje al profesor A. Díez Macho* (Madrid: Christiandad, 1986) 259-66.

42 Voir l'article cité dans la note précédente.

PHILISTINE ORIGINS: A REAPPRAISAL

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The Philistines were an ancient people whose origins have been both debated and widely misunderstood in modern scholarship. According to the ethnographic list of Gen 10:13-14, Mizrayim (or Egypt) was named as "the father of Ludim, Anamim,[1] Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim (whence came the Philistines), and Caphtorim." Liberal scholars rearranged the text so that it read "the Caphtorim, from whom the Philistines came," thus substituting Caphtorim for Casluhim so that the resultant text would agree with Amos 9:7, which spoke of the Lord bringing the Philistines from Caphtor (MT *kaptôr*). In consequence the Philistines were regarded as of Aegean origin, probably coming from Crete, since this is the usual understanding of the name Caphtor. The mention of Philistines in Genesis was dismissed as an anachronism, and the textual emendation passed unchallenged into such modern versions as the *NAB* and the *NEB*.

There are a number of difficulties associated with this particular example of textual experimentation, however. In the first instance the Table of Nations (Gen 10:2-37) is an extremely old source of information, as conceded even by liberal scholars, who have been accustomed to assign it to the unproved and undemonstrable "priestly" source as postulated by the Graf–Wellhausenian hypothesis of Pentateuchal origins. Since the theorists went completely contrary to all the scribal traditions of the ancient Near East, which consistently assigned an early rather than a late date to

[1] Spelled incorrectly as Anamin in the 1952 edition of the *RSV*.

priestly traditions, the Table of Nations was allocated to the post–exilic period. Certain writers thought that it might well have had some remoter origin, but having been transmitted orally, as it was thought, for many centuries, its final form could only be late rather than early.

According to the tablet–theory of the formulation of Genesis,[2] the Table of Nations formed part of a corpus of material (Gen 10:2-11:10a) which belonged originally to Shem, as indicated by the colophon "these are the family histories (*tôlĕdôt*) of Shem."[3] It was thus in written form from a very early period, and in fact was so ancient that it was necessary for a scribal gloss to be added by way of explanation. It is interesting to note that Casluhim was the only name in the list to be treated in such a manner. The gloss may have been added at the time of Moses, who most probably compiled Genesis, or perhaps at an even later date when the Philistines were becoming a menace to the Israelites. But of the historicity and antiquity of the passage in question there can be no doubt. It would thus seem to the present writer reprehensible for an older literary source to be deliberately altered by modern scholars in order to make it conform to the dictates of a hypothesis that has never enjoyed reality outside the minds of its proponents. Such a procedure is bad methodology, but unfortunately in the history of Graf–Wellhausenian scholarship it has become commonplace when problems involving a conflict between the Massoretic text and the theory needed to be resolved.

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2 See R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969) 543-53.

3 The *RSV* rendering of "descendants" for *tôlĕdôt* is characteristic of scholarly misunderstanding of the nature and use of the colophon in ancient Near Eastern tablets. It is found at the conclusion of a tablet or group of tablets, and serves as a summary of the preceding material, not as a heading for subsequent verses. Its presence in Genesis enables chapters 1:1-37:2b to be divided up form–critically into eleven sections (proposed "tablets"), which comprise the real literary sources, along with the Joseph narratives, of the Book of Genesis.

The second difficulty arises from the foregoing, namely the late date generally assigned by liberal writers to Genesis and the Table of Nations. In an attempt to associate the Philistines firmly with Crete, their presence in Palestine at the time of the Settlement has been seen as the result of a primary invasion, thus making references to Abraham and the Philistines, for example, anachronistic. But to dismiss the biblical text in this manner is to sidestep the problem, as LaSor has pointed out,[4] and not to solve it.

A further problem arises from the possibility that the explanatory gloss may have been misplaced, either by a later scribe who inserted it, or by someone else in the process of transmitting the text. In response to this it can only be said that the glossator would not have inserted incorrect information, since that would have defeated the entire purpose of the procedure. Furthermore, there are no examples in the Old Testament of explanatory glosses being wrongly inserted, thereby furnishing erroneous information to the people of that and subsequent times. As though the tradition of the immense care of the text on the part of ancient scribes was insufficient, the Massoretic text bears no indication whatever that the verbal form of Gen 10:14 was ever in any other order than that now extant, a position supported by the ancient versions.

The final question, therefore, must be about the accuracy of the factual information supplied by the gloss. As observed above, the insertion explains for later readers something that was well known to the early post–diluvians, and by its very nature confirmed and amplified it. Since the antiquity of the gloss, and the even greater age of the Table of Nations is evident, an attempt must now be made to discern the significance of the reference to Casluhim.

From Gen 10:13-14, he was evidently born in Egypt and became the father of a family group. These people apparently entered Canaan in the period when migrations

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4 W.S. LaSor, "Philistines," *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia 3* (Revised ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986) 846.

from Egypt began in the late Chalcolithic and extended into the Early Bronze Age, that is, from about 3000 to 2800 B.C. by standard chronologies. The latter part of this movement was associated by Oren with the late pre–dynastic and early dynastic periods of Egyptian history in his statement that, of the findings in Canaan, the appearance and distinction of the material of First Dynasty in northern Sinai and southern Canaan should be viewed as one related historical phenomenon.[5]

An even more forthright claim that this situation was in fact a migration was made by Ram Gophna, who wrote: "Today we seem to be justified in assuming some kind of immigration of people from Egypt to southern Canaan."[6] On this dating sequence it would thus appear that the descendants of Casluhim would be in southern Canaan by about 2500 B.C., well in advance of the days of Abraham. Settlements of significant size were by no means unknown there, as is indicated by the excavations at En–gedi (the Hazazon–tamar of Gen 14:7; cf. 2 Chron 20:2), which showed that the settlement was at its largest size during the Chalcolithic period (*c.* 4000-3000 B.C.) of Palestine. The culture was identical with the Ghassul IV at Teleilat Ghassul, close to Jericho north of the Dead Sea, and at contemporary sites elsewhere.

When Ruth Amiran was excavating at Arad she discovered in Stratum IV a sherd on which the name of Narmer, founder of the First Dynasty of Egypt, was written.[7] She dated the artifact towards the close of Early Bronze Age I, that is, about 2800 B.C. This discovery offers conclusive evidence of the active presence of

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5 E. D. Oren, "The Overland Route Between Egypt and Canaan in the Early Bronze Age," *IEJ* 23 (1973) 200-205.

6 Ram Gophna, "Egyptian Migration into Canaan During the 1st Dynasty?,"*Tel Aviv* 3 (1976) 31.

7 R. Amiran, "An Egyptian Jar Fragment with the Name of Narmer from Arad," *IEJ* 24 (1974) 4-12; *idem*, "The Narmer Jar Fragment from Arad: An Addendum," *IEJ* 26 (1976) 45.

Egyptians in the Negeb long before the time of Abraham. It also indicates that ample opportunity existed for migrating Egyptians, including the offspring of Casluhim, to settle in southern Canaan at will. It should be noted that at this period there were no Caphtorim settlements in Canaan, if Caphtor is to be identified with Crete, and therefore no reason whatever for the position of the gloss in Gen 10:14 to be altered.

It is thus not completely amiss to suggest that the migration of Casluhim's descendants occured concurrently with that of other groups which migrated between 3000 and 2000 B.C. to Crete and the Cyclades Islands to establish the Minoan civilization. Unfortunately very little is known about this turbulent period in Levantine history.

The explanatory gloss of Gen 10:14 indicated that at some point after the death of Casluhim, his offspring became known as Philistines (MT *pĕlištîm*). Precisely how and when this occured is unknown, but it is possible that the name was derived from an Egyptian word *plst* or *prst*.[8] The migrants doubtless bestowed some form of their name on areas of southern Canaan, because by the time of Abraham they were settled in territory around Beer-sheba, unlike the Philistines of later times, and were governed by a king (who was designated as the ruler of a kingdom rather than a people), as distinct from the five Philistine lords of the Settlement period (Josh 13:3). More specifically, between the time of Abraham (Gen 20:2) and Isaac (Gen 26:1) the area had become known as the land of the *pĕlištîm*, regardless of what the earlier form of the name might have been. On some occasions the name "Philistine" was interchanged with "Canaanites," as in Josh 13:2-4, but in most instances Philistine identity is clearly in evidence. By

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8 Cf. LaSor, "The Philistines," 841, 846; K.A. Kitchen, "Philistines," *Peoples of Old Testament Times* (ed. D.J. Wiseman; Oxford: Clarendon, 1973) 53-78.

the period of the wilderness wanderings there seems to have been a caravan route into Philistine territory (Exod 13:17), while a portion of the Mediterranean Sea in the region of Gaza was known as the "Sea of the Philistines" (Exod 23:31).

The incursions of the Philistines that are mentioned in Deut 2:23, Jer 47:4, and Amos 9:7 are obviously part of a different, and much later, migratory movement. As a group these Philistines were first mentioned in the annals of Rameses III, about 1185 B.C., as one section (*prst*) of a body of invaders known as Sea Peoples. Significantly enough, the Philistines were not recorded by any name in the list of maritime peoples whom Merneptah conquered in a Libyan campaign about 1232 B.C.[9] Yet in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries B.C. there were Philistine colonies in the Nile Delta and to the south of Egypt, in Nubia,[10] indicating that the victory of Rameses III over them was far from conclusive. Any Philistines living in Canaan in the time of Merneptah or Rameses III must have been doing so with Egyptian permission or oversight, since Palestine had long been a sphere of political and military influence for Egypt. Such Philistines may have been mercenary soldiers, and this would account for the preservation of Egyptian artifacts recovered from a shrine at Beth-shan.[11] Before the time of Rameses III the *Pulisati* or Philistines were apparently not known as a distinct people, but this may only be the result of Egyptian prejudice against recognizing new names for older

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9 Cf. *CAH II/2* , 366-71.

10 J. C. Moyer, "Philistines," *Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible 4* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975) 768.

11 On the archaeology of Beth-shan see A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930); *idem*, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-shan I* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940); G.M. Fitzgerald, "Beth-shean," *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (ed. D.W. Thomas; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) 185-96, with bibliography; F. James, A. Kempinski, D. Bahat, and N. Tzori, "Beth-shean," *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land I* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1975) 207-29.

groups. In the first millennium B.C. the Philistines were described as *Palastu* in an Assyrian inscription of Adad–Nirari III (*c.* 810-782 B.C.), and thereafter were mentioned in the annals of Tiglath–pileser III (745-727 B.C.), Sargon (722-705 B.C.), and Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). A late reference to them occurred in some Babylonian tablets dating from the exilic period.[12]

The associating of the late second millennium B.C. Philistines with the Sea Peoples[13] presents certain problems, since the Philistines were basically not mariners, preferring instead to locate their cities a little distance from the seacoast. But in any event they were part of an invasion of the Near East that resulted in the fall of the Hittite empire and brought a real threat to Egyptian sovereignty over Canaan.

Philistine movements at this period have been attributed to the Dorian invasion of Greece, which terminated the Mycenean civilization and provoked a vast upheaval among the Aegean peoples.[14] The land of Caphtor, mentioned in Amos 9:7 and Jer 47:4, was identified, after some scholarly dispute, with Crete, largely on the basis of a topographical list from the time of Amenhopet III, about 1400 B.C. If this identification is correct, it is interesting to observe that, in participating in the invasion of Egypt, the Philistines were returning to their original home it if is correct to assume that Minoan culture had Egyptian origins. But the theory that Crete was the place of origin of the Philistines is unfortunately conjectural, since it cannot be supported by archaeological excavations carried out to date in Crete. Nor have any Philistine inscriptions been recovered from any

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12 T. C. Mitchell, "Philistines, Philistia," *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary 3* (Leicester: Inter–Varsity, 1980) 1220.

13 K.A. Kitchen, "Sea Peoples,"*The New International Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology* (ed. E.M. Blaiklock and R.K. Harrison; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983) 404-5 and bibliography.

14 H. J. Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Bloomington: Principia, 1947); R.A. Crossland and A. Birchall (eds.), *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean* (London: Duckworth, 1974).

area of occupation which might disclose their origins. The identification of Caphtor with Crete is itself open to basic questioning, since *Kftyw* may have denoted an original Egyptian settlement in the Nile Delta area, and was applied only secondarily to a subsequent Minoan Age colony on Crete. It was this group that was known for its trading connections with the Near East, and its home base was familiar to the Babylonians as *Kaptara*. There would be nothing particularly exceptionable in such a situation, but a firm statement on the matter awaits further archaeological information.

In general it is impossible at the present time to formulate a reliable historical account of the Aegean peoples in the Bronze Age. It is the contention of the present writer, however, that both the glossed reference in Gen 10:14 and the subsequent mention of the Philistines in Deut 2:23 (where they are described as Caphtorim), Amos 9:7, and Jer 47:4 are correct in their different ways. It must be borne in mind that while the Caphtorim were related to the Casluhim, they were not identical with the people who evidently migrated to Canaan and became known as the *Pĕlištîm*. As a consequence it is possible to see that two entirely different group migrations are involved, and that they are separated by many centuries. The Table of Nations refers to a group that apparently left Egypt at an early date to settle in southern Canaan, and gave to the area the name that was subsequently familiar as Palestine. Amos and Jeremiah, by contrast, who were living and writing in a different millennium, were referring to a contemporary Aegean people who came into the Near East by sea and approached Palestine from the north, along with the other Aegean maritime invaders. The Philistines ultimately settled in a land that already had a name, and by adopting it came to be known by the designation familiar to peoples in later centuries. To be consistent historically, the prophets concerned should actually have used the name "Caphtorim," as in the much

earlier source (Deut 2:23). But this was obviously archaic,[15] since the Caphtorim had long ago adopted the name of the country in which they lived, and had become known as Philistines.

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15 Cf. P. C. Craigie, *Deuteronomy* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976) 113 and n. 10.

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OF BEDSPREADS AND HIBERNATION: FROM RIO DE JANEIRO TO THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES

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The Ancient Near East offers a rich tapestry of history, cultures and languages spanning millennia. However, the extent and depth of available information on any given matter varies immensely across regions and centuries, from dense profusion to almost zero, giving ample scope for researchers. Here, we shall briefly examine terms whose occurrences are scattered across many centuries, but are linked by common subject-matter.

Our odyssey begins with the word *ḫarīru*, attested thrice in Neo-Assyrian texts: "3 *ḫarīru*-garments" (in a garment-list); "4 cloth covers, linen *ḫarirāte*" (plural); and "[...] *ḫarirāte* (pl.), variegated (in colour)."[1] Eighty years ago, this word might simply have passed for a relatively late Akkadian word (perhaps Assyrian dialect) for a garment of cloth.

Even earlier, in faraway Egypt, Petrie had excavated fragmentary papyri at Gurob, which had belonged to office records of the royal harim of the Ramesside pharaohs adjoining the Fayum garden-province. The texts were transcribed by Gardiner for the great Berlin *Wörterbuch* which cited from these documents (Fragment G) of ca.1200 B.C. two occurrences of a word *ḫrr* for cloth or clothing by its determinative. Even this was only published in its pages in 1929 and 1951, while Gardiner's transcriptions likewise

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[1] Respectively, C.H.W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898-1923), Nos. 956:4, 1124: rto 5, and 973: i. 6, respectively, cited in transliteration in *CAD*, *Ḥ* 102b, under *ḫarīru* and in *AHW*, 326a, more briefly.

only appeared in 1948, revealing the broken contexts of *ḫrr* as lists of garments, etc., issued at the royal harim.[2] However, the editors of the *Wörterbuch* had very little help from such fragmentary contexts; they offered the cautious (but hypothetical!) translation, "balls, bundles" (of coverings). They looked no further than Egyptian; and no-one from outside ever looked at the rare 'Egyptian' word.

Within barely a decade of the publication of the *Wörterbuch*'s *Belegstellen*, III and Gardiner's volume, three fresh volumes of the *Archives royales de Mari* (VII-IX) suddenly added a thousand years to the known history of the word *ḫarīru*, in the forms *ḫarārum*, *ḫarūrum*. After fifteen years' further interval, this last decade has witnessed the publication during 1977-85 of a veritable flood of additional examples of *ḫarūru*/*ḫurūru* in the Mari administrative texts, in *Archives royales de Mari*, XVIII and XXI-XXIV.

Moreover, these early-second-millennium occurrences (over thirty in number) help to define more closely the nature and uses of *ḫarūru*.[3] In most documents this entity was probably an item of personal clothing, appearing in lists of garments in the main. Perhaps the most explicit example of its use as a garment occurs in *Archives royales de Mari* , XXII/1, No. 164:2-4 — "2 *ḫarūrum*-garments, to dress Bahdi-El's heads of departments."[4] In a long series of other tablets, this use is more implicit than explicit, where the *ḫarūru* is simply included within lists of other various

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2 A. Erman and H. Grapow (eds.), *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929), III, 330:5, with references in id., *Die Belegstellen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1951), 69 (to 330.5) and second 98 (to 330:5, one example cited, only). Text, Sir Alan H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1948), 20:4, 8 (G, 1, 5).

3 For convenience, this form of the word will be used hereafter, except when variant spellings are of any consequence.

4 ARM XXII/1, 278/9, No. 164:2-4.

garments.[5] It may at times have been made of leather,[6] suggesting an outer garment. A good many documents must be regarded as indecisive, as regards the function of *ḫarūru* mentioned in them.[7]

However, some of the Mari examples explicitly refer to the use of a *ḫarūru* as a bed-covering. In one tablet, a short list of garments ends with the entry: "2 *ḫarūru* for (putting) on a bed,"[8] while another similarly has: "1 *ḫurūru* for (putting) on a bed," in a mixed list of goods.[9] These items clearly served as coverlets or bedspreads of some kind.

As Bottéro has long since pointed out,[10] the two uses of *ḫarūru* are by no means incompatible. The common term *naḫlaptu* is well-known, meaning mantle, cloak, outer garment[11] — but it too found use as a bed-covering.[12] The same duality in use is also known for the special multicoloured make of cloth termed *mardatu*, used for both garments and bedspreads, and (later on) perhaps as a curtain.[13] Thus, there is no problem in having *ḫarūru* as a

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5 E.g. ARM VII, No. 90:4; VIII, No. 94:3: IX, No. 97:1, 7, 14, 15; XVIII, Nos. 58:15, 25, 59:15, 60:12, rev. 3'; XXI, No. 320:2; XXII/1, Nos. 113:4, 114: vso. 14, 127:2, 130:1, 151:20, 33, 153: vso. 3, 170:11, 18'-vso. 5, 10-13, 172:4, and 176:7; XXIII, Nos. 26:2, 29:1; XXIV, Nos. 198:2, 208:2, 5, 12, 20.

6 Text, J. Bottéro, ARM VII, No. 90:4 (p.30), in the light of O. Roualt, ARM XVIII, 132-33 n. 101.

7 E.g. ARM XXI, Nos. 362:1, 3, 373:10, 12, 383: ii. 7, iv. 5, 6; XXII/2, Nos. 319: II,3, 324: III, 35 vso.; XXIII, No. 539:1; XXIV, Nos. 201:1, 277:10.

8 Bottéro, ARM VII, No. 253:7.

9 M. Durand, ARM XXI, 425-26, No. 219:23; this *ḫarūru* is valued at 1 shekel.

10 In his valuable discussion, ARM VII, 278, § 7, cf. 281, § 16.

11 Data, cf. *CAD* , *Ḥ*, 138-40; *AHW*, 715a.

12 Bottéro, ARM VII, 278, § 7, cf. 281, § 16; *AHW*, 715a.

13 Cf. Bottéro, ibid.; *CAD*, *M*/1, 277-78; Durand, ARM XXI, 410; and the paper by M.-T. Barrelet, "Un inventaire de Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta:

term used both for a large mantle and for a bed cover. But why this special term? Perhaps *ḫarūru* indicated (like *mardatu*) a particular kind of cloth or decoration that could be used for such cloaks and bedspreads. The suggestion has been made[14] that this term is related to *ḫarir*, "grooved,"[15] i.e. a striated or striped material, having a corded surface like reps or even the 'candle-wick' bedspreads of modern times.

If this were so, then a *naḫlaptu* bedspread or robe could be the simple general term, without reference to type or decoration. A *mardatu* would have been a multicoloured example, worked in embroidery or whatever other technique. A *ḫarūru* would have been a 'corded' product.

Thus far the Akkadian evidence. Now we must return to Egypt — but more precisely, via Rio de Janeiro! Since 1826 the venerable National Museum there has held a noteworthy Egyptian collection not yet well known.[16] Among the more than fifty private stelae, one of about the late Nineteenth Dynasty (ca.1200 B.C.) belonged to a man Haunefer[17] who was entitled: *ḫry ỉrw ḫrr n ʿt ḥnkt Prʿ3, ʿnḫ, wḏ3, s(nb)*, "the Chief maker of *ḫrr* for the bedchamber[18] of Pharaoh, Life, Prosperity, Health." With cloth determinative, this *ḫrr* is exactly the same word as that found in the papyri of this

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textiles decorés Assyriens et autres," *RA* 71 (1977) 51-92 with useful background data (reference kindly drawn to my attention by A.R. Millard).

14 By Durand, ARM XXI, 425-26.

15 Cf. *CAD*, *Ḥ*, 91, *ḫarir* under *ḫarāru* A; and Durand, ARM XXI, 426, on the texts Louvre Antiquities Orientales 7026 and Yale Oriental Series, X, 46, iv. 53.

16 To be published in M.d.C. Beltrão (ed.) and K.A. Kitchen, *Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Cátalogo dos Monumentos do Egito Antigo /Catalogue of the Ancient Egyptian Monuments* (forthcoming 1988).

17 Stela Rio de Janeiro Inv. 652 [2440], to be No. 35 in the new *Cátalogo* .

18 Cf. Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch* , III, 119:8-120:2; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962) 173, for bed and bedchamber.

period published by Gardiner. Manifestly, Haunefer could hardly have been "Chief maker of balls/bundles of covers for Pharaoh's bedroom," as would result from the *Wörterbuch*'s rendering of *ḫrr*. But it is a very short step to recognize in this *ḫrr* the Akkadian (or at least, Semitic) *ḫarūru*, in the meaning of "bedspread." So, Haunefer's title may very aptly be rendered "Chief maker of (corded?) bedspreads for the bedchamber of Pharaoh," Haunefer having kept the foreign term for this imported design much as some English-speaking people have taken to (French) duvets or (Japanese) futons. From this happy result, we make several gains:

1. The Egyptian attestations at ca.1200 B.C. neatly provide documentation for this term about halfway through the millennium that separates the abundant Mari occurrences from the handful of Neo-Assyrian mentions.

2. The Egyptian examples serve to confirm clearly that the word's initial consonant was *ḫ*, as in Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic loanwords *ḫ* reproduces only *ḫ*, not other related phonemes.[19] Therefore, occasional hesitant queries by Akkadists, whether *ar(r)urum* or *eriru* may be forms directly related to *ḫarūru*,[20] must be rejected, as *ḫ* is the real initial consonant.

3. The Rio de Janeiro occurrence agrees brilliantly with the Akkadian evidence for the meaning "bedspread"; it refutes and replaces *Wörterbuch*'s unsupported guess, "ball/bundle" of covers or clothing.[21]

We have here a parade example of something akin to what my esteemed friend and colleague A.R. Millard

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19 Cf. M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte im Ägyptischen* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909), I, §§ 102, 157.

20 Cf. Bottéro, ARM VII, 278, § 7; *AHW*, 1544b; Talon, ARM XXIV, 110.

21 *Ḫarūru* is not the only Semitic loanword encountered on the Rio stelae; for West-Semitic *qṣn/qaṣin(u)*, 'leader, chief,' see Kitchen, "A West Semitic title on an Egyptian Stela in Rio de Janeiro,"*JEA* 73 (1987) 218-20.

recently referred to as 'hibernation.'[22] In our very unevenly-distributed written sources for three millennia of Ancient Near Eastern history, a word can appear a few times in the documents of one age and then disappear from view for many decades or even several centuries (or a millennium or two) before reappearing in further documentary sources after a long apparent 'hibernation' (hid from our eyes).

In most cases this apparent absence is almost surely an optical illusion, owed to the vast gaps in the documentation actually available to us. Such words must often (in varying measure) have remained in use right through the decades or centuries in question, but have not chanced to be utilized in the limited data currently in our possession.

This phenomenon is very common in the languages of the ancient world, including in the OT, as becomes evident when we set our knowledge of Hebrew vocabulary in the wider framework of West-Semitic lexicography. Here, to conclude, we include just a short further note on terms for beds and bedding in that realm. In Hebrew we have no such words from the roots *ḫlp* or *ḫrr* to correspond to Akkadian *naḫlaptu* and *ḫarūru* respectively. Ugaritic knows *mrdt* corresponding to Akkadian *mardatu*, as this technique appears to have been native to the Levant, not to Mesopotamia.[23] Within Hebrew, the verb *rbd* , "to deck, bespread," and its derivative *marbaddîm* "coverlets, bedspreads," occur for certain just once each,[24] in Prov 7:16. Here again, Ugaritic attests the noun back in the 14th/13th centuries B.C., some four centuries before either Solomon or any possible ghost-writer of his: *mrbd*[25] or

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22 Cf. A.R. Millard, "A Lexical Illusion," *JSS* 31 (1986) 1-3.

23 *CAD* M/1, 278 on Western (Levantine) origin. For Ugaritic *mrdt*, cf. *RA* 71 (1977),*UT*, No. 1546 (p.437), from *UT* 1112:4, 6 (=*KTU* 4.205.4, 6); for speculative links suggested with Hebrew *môrâd* and Mari *ma-ra-tu-ú* see Barrelet, "Un inventaire," 58 with references.

24 Leaving aside possible additional example(s) gained by conjectural emendation (e.g. BDB, 914-15).

25 *UT*, 2050:9 (=*KTU* 4.385.9).

mrbdt[26] (fem. pl., instead of masc. pl. as in Hebrew). Thus, the term is far older in West-Semitic use than its isolated Hebrew occurrence would lead us to suppose — just as Mari *ḫarūru* and Egyptian loan *ḫrr* extend our acquaintance with that term many centuries before its Neo-Assyrian occurrences, as we have already seen. Moving briefly from spreads to beds, the common Hebrew term at all periods, of course is *miṭṭâ*, but *'ereś* occurs as a more limited synonym, particularly in poetical contexts (Psalms, Song of Songs, Job, Amos; Prov 7:16 again), besides Deut 3:11 in prose.[27] But as a common Semitic term, *'rś* also can show a considerable ancestry. In Ugaritic it is frequent in the poetical epics of the 14th/13th centuries B.C. (terminal date),[28] while in Akkadian *eršu* goes back to Old-Babylonian times and (written in Sumerograms) to the Akkad and Ur III periods in the later third millennium B.C.[29] But in this case, the constant use of this term in different areas and through the ages stands in contrast to the apparent 'hibernation' seen in the case of such terms as *ḫarūru*.

It is my melancholy pleasure to offer this small tribute to the memory of our much missed colleague Peter Craigie; but may it at least interest all those who, like the present writer, will continue to treasure his memory.

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26 *UT*, 1111:11 (=*KTU* 4.270.11).

27 On which passage, see the paper by A.R. Millard in this volume.

28 References, cf.*UT*, No. 1927 (pp. 461-62).

29 *CAD*, *E*, 315.

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KINGSHIP IN UGARIT
(*KTU* 1.16 I 1-23)

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Preface

The purpose of this essay is to show that one particular part of the Krt text, *KTU* 1.16 I 1-23 (*CTA* 16 I 1-23),[1] teaches that proper rule or kingship is based upon the divinity of the king. This teaching is developed in the midst of a story about a particular king, namely, Keret. Through a series of questions, all of which present the same problem, the true nature of Keret and also the true nature of proper rule are probed. The central question is: Why is Keret dying like mortal men? This question assumes that Keret, as a king, is , or should be, immortal, and that immortality makes him divine. The following reading of *KTU* 1.16 I 1-23 argues that the series of questions occur at key points in text, and are the primary indication that the text teaches that proper rule is founded upon the divinity of the king. This reading is developed in the passage by the existence of 1) a recurring theme of lamentation which creates a conflict between what the mourners had thought about Keret and what they were actually witnessing and 2) a literary structure which revolves around the series of questions and which enhances the theme.[2]

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[1] *KTU* 1.16 I 6b-11 is repeated in *KTU* 1.16 II 45-49, and *KTU* 1.16 I 12b-23 is repeated in *KTU* 1.16 II 35-49a.

[2] Ivan Engnell has advocated divine kingship in Ugaritic texts. See Ivan Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (2d ed; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967) 97-177. The suggestion that Keret may be divine is also made in a short lexicographical article by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Wehklage über Keret in KTU 1.16 I 2-23 (II

This essay is divided into three sections. The first section shows the significance of Keret's divinity for the understanding of Krt. The second section is a detailed study of *KTU* 1.16 I 1-23; the argument for Keret's divinity is made in this section. The third section is a summary of the argument, and an exploration of its implications for the study of Canaanite and Israelite religion.

I. SIGNIFICANCE OF KERET'S DIVINITY

The significance of Keret's divinity for the understanding of the purpose of Krt is exemplified in John Gray's writings on Krt.[3] In the endeavour by Gray to enucleate the theme, literary form and purpose of Krt, Gray addresses the question of its historicity. He argues that Krt is more historical than the other Ugaritic texts, and that one central proof of its historical nature is that Keret is a human rather than a divine king.[4]

Gray begins his discussion of Krt with an attempt to define the theme.[5] He claims that the theme is kingship, although he is equivocal whether the theme is the foundation of the dynasty of Keret or the legitimation of the later dynasty of Keret's youngest daughter.[6] The reason for

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II 35-50)," *UF* 12 (1980) 189-92.

[3] John Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra* (2d ed; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964); *idem, The Legacy of Canaan: The Ras Shamra Texts and their Relevance to the Old Testament* (VTSup 5; 2d ed; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965); *idem*, "Sacral Kingship in Ugarit," *Ugaritica V*, 289-302.

[4] Gray, *Krt Text* , 1-3. A list of scholars who considered that Krt has an historical nucleus and those who argued for divine kingship are found in Gray's introduction to the text. See *ibid.*, 2. Ginsberg says Krt is unmistakably a story about men and not about the gods. See H.L. Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret* (ASOR Supplementary Studies Nos. 2-3; New Haven: ASOR, 1946) 7-8.

[5] Gray, *Krt Text*, 1.

[6] *Ibid.*

Gray's inconclusiveness is, as he states, that all of the Krt tablets may not have been recovered, and also the tablets that have been found contain many broken sections.[7]

The attempt to define theme, however, has the positive result of leading Gray to the question of Krt's historicity. Although Gray does not wish to emphasize the historical nature of Krt to the extent that scholars such as Virolleaud have done, he agrees with the majority of studies that there is an historical nucleus to the story. Gray prefers to call Krt a specific type of history, namely, domestic history, and opposes this type of history to either heroic tale or myth. Krt is not heroic because it follows the daily happenings of a royal family, and does not present the king in the midst of battles with other kings or nations. Krt is not mythological because it is unlike the other texts from Ras Shamra which are, according to Gray, obviously mythological. Thus Gray admits an historical element in Krt, but seeks to limit the degree of history contained therein.

Gray, however, uses several words for the literary form of Krt. He calls Krt a saga, a legend and an epic, all of which admit a greater historical nature to the text than the term myth. Yet Gray is not comfortable with this historical element in Krt for if Krt were a myth then its purpose in the religion of Canaan would be the same as other Ugaritic texts. The value of calling an ancient text a myth is that the text becomes functional.

> The text, that is to say, was not an aesthetic exercise, but served a practical purpose in the community where it was current, to achieve some desired end or to conserve certain accepted values.[8]

Historical texts do not have this functional capacity.

> Though we have hitherto characterised the KRT text as a saga rather than a myth, there is a certain sense in which it might be termed a myth. Pure myths are the accompaniments of

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[7] *Ibid.*, 9-10.

[8] *Ibid.*, 4.

> ritual and have as their function the purpose not only of explaining ritual and enhancing its efficacy by articulate expression, but also of providing for the continuity of ritual and the order which it symbolizes. Now society was as sensitive to the need to preserve the social order as it was to preserve the cosmic or natural order, and we believe that this purpose was served by the Keret text, though it was not deliberately designed to conserve all the social conventions which, in effect, it did help materially to preserve.[9]

Thus Gray concludes Krt is best described as a social myth.[10] With this social emphasis, Krt, as a text, both formulates the order of society and corroborates with an already established political order. The historical nature of the text is subdued even further.

Moreover, Gray suggests that if Keret is a social myth, it must contain an ideology of kingship. He thinks, however, that the ideology is not full or complete, nor is it articulated in a way that strangers, such as ourselves, can understand. In order to elucidate this obscure ideology, Gray compares it with views found elsewhere in the Ancient Near East, specifically in Assyria, Egypt and Israel. The comparison is made at two points: 1) whether the stability of the natural order is dependent upon the life and health of the king and 2) whether the king is divine or mortal.

Gray stresses the continuity of Ancient Near Eastern ideology in respect to the question whether the health of the king is necessary for the maintenance of the social and natural order. Gray cites texts from Assyria, Israel and Canaan which suggest that the health of the king leads to the preservation of natural blessing. He quotes lines 14 and 15 in *KTU* 1.16 I 1-23 as the Canaanite example:

> In thy life, our father, was our joy,

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9 *Ibid.*, 5.

10 The subtitle to *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra* is *A Social Myth of Ancient Canaan*. "Social myth" preserves the political element of the text as well as showing its similarity as myth with other Ugaritic texts.

Our gladness in thy not dying,
(Gray's translation)

According to Gray, there is an intrinsic relation, as expressed in this passage, between the natural health of the king and the proper functioning of nature as a whole. Such a depiction of kingship is found throughout the texts of the Ancient Near East.

Gray stresses the discontinuity in Ancient Near Eastern views of kingship in respect to the question whether the king is divine. He makes no comment on Assyrian kings; he notes that Egyptian kings are divinities; Keret in Canaan is mortal.[11] He concentrates on establishing the mortality of Keret, presenting four arguments to support his case. First, Gray concludes that the parts of Krt which most strongly suggest that Keret is a divinity, *KTU* 1.16 I 20-23, employ a form of Egyptian literary style found in courtly address (Hofstil). This courtly style is a style of adornment, and is prone to extravagance in language. Furthermore, the language of lamentation exaggerates what is intended. The poetic lines, therefore, only appear to indicate that Keret is divine. Gray's second argument is based on the political situation at the time the texts were written. He suggests that the power of the Egyptian pharaohs over Canaan would make any text representing the divinity of Keret foolishness. In the third argument, Gray notes that Keret is called a "servant (*ʿbd*) of El," and this designation sufficiently distinguishes Keret from the gods. Gray's fourth argument seeks to account for the reason that Keret is called a "son of El" in *KTU* 1.16 I 20; calling Keret a "son of El" suggests that the divine nature is passed on through procreation to the son. Gray counters this reading by noting that El is not only a father of Keret, but is a father of men (*KTU* 1.14 I 43 *kab adm*). Furthermore, the relation of father and son, or father and children, indicates a moral relation between El and Keret, or El and the people, but does not indicate that Keret or the people share in the divine nature. Using these four

11 *Ibid.*, 8.

arguments, Gray concludes that Keret is mortal.[12] We shall evaluate the quality of these arguments in the third section of this study.

Thus Gray maintains two not easily reconcilable views of the nature of kingship in the Ancient Near East in general and of king Keret in particular. First, the health of the king influences both the social and natural order, but, second, such a relation between the king and nature does not indicate that Keret is divine. Yet the very fact that the natural health of the king influences all nature means that the king serves as a paradigm of the laws of nature itself, or, to state the problem differently, the laws for the maintenance of the order of nature are extensions of the law of the nature of divinities. There seems to be more at stake than the simple life or death of a human king. What is suggested is that Keret is a divinity. If Keret were simply a human king, he would be easily replaced and nature would not be affected by his demise. But if Keret is divine and dying, the laws of all order are threatened; gods and nature are in chaos. Keret's son Elhu (*ilhu*), and those who lament with Elhu, have good reason for lamentation and alarm.

A contrast to modern political thought may help clarify the view of kingship found in Krt. Elected leaders have replaced kings in post–seventeenth century Europe. These "modern" kings rule by the consent of the electorate, but not by any natural characteristics which make them kings. There is an essential equality affirmed between the rulers and the ones ruled. In contrast, Keret does not rule by consent. His right and ability to rule is an essential part of his nature. In particular, Keret has the authority to rule because he is divine, and the central characteristic of his divinity is his immortality. This immortality makes Keret unlike or unequal to mortal men and like the gods. The right to rule is grounded, in contrast to modern political thought, upon the nature of the king.

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12 *Ibid.*, 8-9.

The central problem of this study addresses the question of the nature of Keret. Keret's impending death threatens the teachings that 1) Keret is immortal, and that 2) his immortality is the basis upon which he sustains all order and has the legitimate authority to rule. Text *KTU* 1.16 I 1-23 express a deep conflict over the true nature of Keret and shows us that for Keret's son and subjects, Keret was expected to be a divinity. It is through this episode of Keret's possible demise that the teaching is presented that a true king should be immortal.

II. KTU 1.16 I 1-23 IN DETAIL

The following translation is based upon Gibson's version in *Canaanite Myths and Legends*.[13] The italicized words mark changes from Gibson's translation; the reason for the changes are presented in the commentary which follows.

Translation

I [Of] Keret.
"Like a dog we *howl* in your house,
"like a cur *at* the entrance to your chamber.
"Shall you then die, father, as men,
"or (shall) your chamber (be made over) to an old man's mourning,
"(to) a woman's chanting, my glorious father?
II "The *mountain* of Baal weeps for you, father,
"Zephon the holy circuit,
"the vast circuit is groaning (for you),
"the far-flung circuit.
"Is then Keret the son of El,
"the progeny of Latipan and the Holy One?"
III He entered into (the presence of) his father,
he wept and gnashed his teeth,
he uttered his voice (in) weeping (and said):
"We rejoiced in your life, our father,

13 J.C.L. Gibson, ed. *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (2d ed.; Edinburgh: Clark, 1978) 94-95.

"we exulted (in) your immortality.
IV "(But now) like a dog we *howl* in your house,
"like a cur *at* the entrance to your chamber.
"Shall you then die, father, as men,
"or (shall) your chamber (be made over) to an old man's mourning,
"(to) a woman's chanting, my glorious father?
V "How can it be said (that) Keret is a son of El,
"the progeny of Latipan and the Holy One?
"Or shall gods die?
"Shall the progeny of Latipan not live?"

Diagram of parallelism and structure

(1a)*lkrt*

I A (2)*kklb* *bbtk* *n'tq*
kinr(3) *ap ḫštk*
B *ap ab ik mtm* (4) *tmtn*
C *uḫštk* *lntn* (5)*'tq*
bd aṯt
ab ṣrry

II A (6)*tbkyk ab* *ġr b'l*
(7)*ṣpn ḫlm qdš*
B (8) *any* *ḫlm adr*
ḫ(9) *rḥb*
mknpt
C *ap*(10) *[k]rt* *bnm il*
šph (11) *lṭpn wqdš*

III A *l*(12) *abh y'rs*
ybky (13) *wyšnn*
ytn gh (14) *bky*
B *bḥyk abn* *nšmḫ*
(15) *bimtk* *ngln*

IV A *kklb* (16) *bbtk* *n'tq*
kinr (17) *ap ḫštk*
B *ap ab kmtm* (18) *tmtn*
C *uḫštk* *lntn*(19)*'tq*
bd aṯt
ab ṣrry

V A (20) *ikm yrgm bn il* (21) *krt*
šph lṭpn (22) *wqdš*

B *uilm* *tmtn*
(23)*špḫ ltpn* *lyḫ*

Commentary

The translation and diagram show the division of the text into five stanzas, marked with Roman numerals. Within each stanza, capital letters are used to indicate parts of the stanza which are linked in some way. The stanzas and the parallelism are marked in order to highlight the stress and emphasis created by the movement of the poetry. The stanzas are not shown to diminish the reading of the lines as a piece of continuous writing; the poetic force of all the lines is greater than what exists in each of the parts.

The commentary has three steps in the reading of the poetry. The first step is philological study. The second is the study of the literary characteristics of the stanza which makes it possible to identify it as a stanza. The third identifies the theme of lamentation, and places the stanza in the overall structure. Each step is central to the enucleation of the purpose of the poetry.

Stanza I

1) Philological Study

Line 2:

kklb bbtk n'tq

Like a dog we howl in your house

n'tq — M. Dietrich and O. Loretz have proposed the most suitable usage for *'tq* in *KTU* 1.16 I 2 and 16.[14] They cite the Hebrew usage of *'tq* in LHA (p. 638) as "*sermo nimis liber, effrenis, superbis* usw." On this basis the word can be used in the sense of "overwrought speech," a sense that is fitting in the context of line 2. They thus translate the verb

14 Dietrich and Loretz, "Wehklage über Keret," 189-92.

as "heulen wir," in English "we howl." This translation reveals the vividness of the metaphor that is present in the lines 2 and 3; the mourner's lamentation for Keret is like the howling of dogs. Dietrich and Loretz's suggestion clarifies, with simplicity, the sense of the first two poetic lines of our study, and introduces the theme of the following lines.

The suitability of their suggested usage is clarified if we review the alternatives outlined by Dennis Pardee. Pardee wrote an article on the meaning of *ʿtq* in this text.[15] His discussion of the verb concentrates on the attempt to understand the metaphor of dog. He suggests on the basis of cognates that *ʿtq* may be used in the sense of "to advance (in age), to mature, to grow old or worn out" as well as the usual usage of motion. As a result of this usage, Pardee proposes three possible translations.

1) Like a dog we grow old in your house,
   Like a hound in your court;
2) Like a dog we must pass on from your house,
   Like a hound in your court;
3) As a dog grows old in your house,
   As a hound (grows old) in your court;

His translation of the next three lines remains the same and completes both the sentence and thought of the first two lines.

> So, O Father, like mortal men you must die,
> And your court must pass to mourning,
> To the control of women, O beloved Father.

The alternate translations of the verb reflect different ways in which the metaphor of dog is used in the passage. Pardee isolates two possible uses of the metaphor; dogs indicate 1) short–life expectancy or 2) inescapable mortality.[16] The first and second translations suggest impending death and the third translation indicates the

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15 Dennis Pardee, "A Note on the Root *ʿtq* in CTA. 16. 2, 5 (UT 125, KRT II)," *UF* 5 (1983) 229-34.

16 *Ibid.*, 234.

certainty of death. The weakness of Pardee's explanation of the metaphor is that short–life span and mortality are not peculiar characteristics of dogs; they are not characteristics which would create a forceful metaphor. While Pardee's isolation of the usage of the verb *ʿtq* in the sense of "grow old" is correct, his understanding of the metaphor is inadequate. Howling, in contrast, is a specific characteristic of dogs which the reader readily appreciates. Howling is a fitting metaphor of the mournfulness of lamentation.

Lines 2b and 3a:

kinr (3) *ap ḫštk*

Like a cur at the entrance of your chamber.

inr — The parallelism of *inr* with *klb* is the best indication of its usage. See Gordon, *UT*, 266. Dietrich and Loretz's suggestion of a similar Akkadian word *mī / ērānu*, used in the sense of "whelp," is possible. They give no reason for the metathesis of *n* and *r*.[17]

ap — Gordon's translation as "entrance" on the basis of *ap tġr* in *KTU* 1.17 V 6 and *ap sgrt // ḫdrm* in *KTU* 1.3 V 11-12, 27-28 is correct. See Gordon, *UT*, 264.

ḫšt — Dietrich and Loretz cite the usage in Akkadian of *ḫaštu*, "Loche" or "Grube," or the Hittite *ḫešta–* which is used together with the word "house" and probably in association with a royal ancestral cult (Ahnenkult).[18] The best indication of the usage is the parallelism with *bt*.

Lines 3b and 4a:

ap ab ik mtm (4) *tmtn*

Shall you then die, father, as men,

ap — See Gordon, *UT*, 297 II, "also, indeed." The word is

17 Dietrich and Loretz, "Wehklage über Keret," 190.

18 *Ibid.*

used here as an adverb, and has a distinct usage from the *ap* of the previous line. The use of the same word in two distinct senses in two lines shows the flexibility of Ugaritic poetic language. The line is usually translated as a question. Ginsberg cites several uses of *ap* in the Bible as a indication of a question, Gen 18:13, 23 , 24 and Amos 2:11b. In each case, however, *ap* is prefixed by a He–interrogative; the *ap* itself does not indicate a question.

ik — In lines 17 and 102, parallel lines to this one, *ik* is replaced by the preposition *k*. Ginsberg correctly suggests that the sense is "like" as with the Aramaic *'a(y)k* or *hēk*.[19]

tmtn — A G stem, energic form of the verb **mwt*. *Tmtn* completes line three. The adverb *ap*, coupled with the energic form of the verb, make this line emphatic. While there are no particles which indicate the line is a question, most translators render it as such. The main reason for this translation is the sense of the stanza as a whole. Elhu and others come into the presence of the dying king. Their words to him are not simply statements of fact. They speak in bewilderment and disbelief as is shown by the emphatic particle and the energic verb. If the line is translated as an emphatic statement, then it is rendered thus:

> You shall indeed die like men

In this translation the sense of bitterness is strong. Elhu and Keret's subjects are no longer deceived by the belief in the immortality of their king for he is in essence no different than they. They are bitter because they had made the mistake of trusting in Keret. However, I prefer that the emphatic character of the line be construed as a question: "Shall you then die, father, as men?" As a question the line is less bitter and gives the sense of unbelief and bewilderment. Yet in either case the reason for the confrontation is clear; Keret's subjects have made a discovery, namely, Keret is not immortal.

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19 Ginsberg, *Legend of King Keret* , 42 and 44.

Lines 4b and 5a:

uḫštk lntn (5) *ʿtq*

or shall your chamber be made over to an old man's mourning

u — Ginsberg notes the sequence of *ap* and *u* in these lines and in the parallel sections of the Krt text, *KTU* 1.16 I 17-19 and II 40-41.[20] The sequence joins lines together which have a common sense but which do not have links through parallelism. Thus the next three lines form one sentence.

ntn — Gibson correctly suggests the sense of "giving (voice)" or "wept loud" (*KJV*) after Gen 45:2. The sense is confirmed by the replacement of *ntn* with *bky* in II 41.

ʿtq — Dietrich and Loretz note that the parallelism of *ʿtq* with *bd aṯt* and *ṣrry* indicate that *ʿtq* should be understood as a noun, although they suggest the phrase *ntn ʿtq* means "erheben wir Geheul," "we raise a howl" or simply "we howl." We maintain with Gibson that *ḫšt* is the subject of the sentence rather than introducing another subject, the mourners, for no grammatical reason. Gibson's translation of *ʿtq* as "an old man's mourning" is acceptable. The parallelism of *ʿtq* with *bd aṯt*, of an old man with a woman is suitable.

Line 5b:

bd aṯt ab ṣrry

to a woman's chanting, my glorious father?

bd — The word is a noun used in the same sense as the verb *bdd* "to chant" in *KTU* 1.3 I 18 and 1.17 VI 31; in both cases *bdd* is followed by a synonymous verb *yšr* "to sing."

ṣrry — Gibson's suggestion of an Akkadian cognate *ṣarāru*, "radiance, sheen or glory" remains the best

20 *Ibid.*, 42.

alternative.[21] The word is a noun in this line, but should be translated as an adjective with the pronominal suffix.

2) Delineation of Stanza I

The first five lines are set apart from the rest of the narrative by several rhetorical features. First, sections A and C (see diagram of parallelism) contain two lines of poetry in parallelism with one another. Line B stands in the middle of these lines and has no line parallel to it. Thus in the use of parallelism, A and C form a chiastic structure using B as a midpoint. This structure forms a unit of the poetry which can be examined by itself. Second, there is a repetition of the *ḫšt* in the stanza. *ḫšt* is located in A and C and aids in the formation of a chiastic arrangement of the lines. Third, the vocative *ab ṣrry* ends a long sentence and indicates that this unit is complete.

3) Explanation

a) theme — The first indication that the theme of the stanza is that of lamentation is found in the use of the striking metaphor of lamentation being likened to the howling of dogs. The sense of chanting or wailing is continued in part C of the stanza with the use of the expressions that Keret's chamber is being made over to an old man's weeping or to a woman's chanting. There is an accumulation of words in the stanza which suggest lamentation; *n'tq*, *lntn 'tq* and *bd aṯt*. The form of address made to Keret is ironic for in the midst of dying he is anything but "glorious."

In the midst of this lament a question is asked: Why is Keret dying? There is a contrast set up between the lament of Keret's subjects and what they had thought Keret to be, namely, someone immortal. It is this contrast which is the reason for the question.

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21 But see Pardee's rejection of Gibson's suggestion. Pardee says that the Akkadian *ṣrr* is never used of human beings, but only of stars and celestial bodies. There is no reason, however, that *ṣrr* cannot be used with just that sense here. See Pardee, "Note on the Root *'tq*," 232 n. 45.

b) structure — The chiastic arrangement is instrumental in focusing the entire stanza upon the question in B.

	Lines	
lament	2-3a	(two poetic lines)
question	3b-4a	(one poetic line)
lament	4a-5b	(two poetic lines)

The reason for the lament is found in the center of the structure and highlights the question asked Keret. The literary structure, therefore, directs the force of the poetry toward the central theological question of Keret's mortality.

Stanza II

1) Philological Study

Line 6:

tbkyk ab ġr b'l

The mountain of Baal weeps for you, father.

ġr — is best translated as "mountain" as Gray suggests.[22] The mountain of Baal is, according to the parallelism, Zephon.

Line 7:

ṣpn ḥlm qdš

Zephon, the holy circuit.

ḥlm — The m is enclitic. Ginsberg correctly suggests the Hebrew words *ḥēl* "enclosure" and *ḥwl* "to go around" as cognates.[23] Ginsberg translates *ḥlm* as "circuit," and this

22 Gray, *Krt Text* , 65.

23 Ginsberg, *Legend of King Keret*, 44. Ginsberg also suggests that *qdš* and *adr* are not adjectives but nouns and are part of a construct–m–genitive chain in the phrases *ḥl-m qdš* and *ḥl-m adr*. Ginsberg cites *bn-m il* from line 10 as another example. The translation as adjectives is in

translation has been accepted by both Gray and Gordon. "Circuit" here is used in parallelism with the mountain of Baal. The circuit indicates the order or laws of nature by reference to the paths of celestial objects. The mountain of Baal represents this order as well.

Line 8a:

any ḥlm adr

the vast circuit is groaning for you,

any — The verb is cognate with the Hebrew *'nh* meaning "to mourn"; *'nh* is used in synonymously with *'bl* in Isa 3:26 and 9:8.

Line 8b-9a:

ḥl rḥb mknpt

the far-flung circuit.

ḥl — There is no apparent reason why the *m* is absent. *ḥl* is in bound state with *rḥb*.

rḥb — Gibson suggests the usage "broad, wide."

mknpt — See *UT*, 1273, "wing." Ginsberg and Gray have properly noted the usage here. The phrase *rḥb mknpt* is similar to the Hebrew *rĕḥab yādāyim*, Exod 3:8 and Ps 104:25, "broad of span."

Lines 9b and 10a:

ap (10) *[k]rt bnm il*

Is then Keret the son of El,

Lines 10b and 11a:

šph (11) *ltpn wqdš*

the progeny of Latipan and the Holy one?

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any case correct.

špḫ — See *UT*, 2462, "progeny, family." In one of the articles cited by BDB in their etymological paragraph on *špḫ*, an Arabic cognate is listed which means "a discharge, effusion, outpouring (giessen, ergiessen)."[24] The use of the word in this sense suggests that *špḫ* are offspring by procreation. If Keret is an offspring by sexual union, then he, too, would possess the characteristics essential to the gods. The nature of the gods and the nature of Keret are the same; they are immortal.

2) Delineation of Stanza II

While there are three parts to this stanza, A, B and C, B is more closely connected to A than to C. The most striking feature about A and B is the placement of the parallel verbs *tbkyk* and *any* at the beginning of the sentences of which they are a part. This word order is in direct contrast to the order in Stanza I in which *n'tq* and *tmtn* are found at the end of their respective sentences. The introduction of the lines with verbs of mourning sustains the emphasis on lamentation. A and B are also characterised by the fourfold description of the mountain of El. Finally, lines A and B are preparation for the next question, located in part C. The question, repeated in parallel lines in C, is not identical with the question in Stanza I, part B, but the import is the same.

3) Explanation

a) theme — The theme of lamentation is maintained through the use of the verbs *tbkyk* and *any*. However, it is no longer Keret's son or his subjects who are lamenting, but the entire cosmic and natural order, depicted in the mountain of Baal or the circuit. Keret is not only lamented by the social order but by the cosmic or natural order as well.[25]

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24 D.H. Müller, "Kritische Beiträge zur südarabischen Epigraphik," *WZKM* 2(1888) 2189.

25 R.J. Clifford has written on the purpose of the cosmic mountain in the Ancient Near East. According to Clifford, *ṣpn* in this text refers to a deified mountain, one of the four uses of *ṣpn* in the Ugaritic material. See *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (HSM 4;

Nature joins in the lament because the course of nature is bound up with the health of the king. If the king's right to rule is founded upon his immortality, then his impending death questions not only his right to rule but the regularity and order of all nature. Nothing in the world can be trusted; nothing in the world is subject to order. Thus the health of the king is significant for natural or cosmic order, and is the reason the order laments.

While the theme of order persists in this second stanza, there is a crucial difference in its development in the first two stanzas. In the first stanza, Keret is lamented by common men and his death is likened unto their deaths. Keret is compared with mortals and found to be similar in one vital respect, namely, he is subject to death. In the second, Keret is lamented by nature and cosmic order, and his origin is thought to be amongst the gods. Keret is compared with the divinities, although his divine origin is questioned. Keret may not be a god at all.

b) structure — The pattern of the parallelism leads to an emphasis on the question of Keret's true essence. Units A and B form a well–integrated pattern of parallelism. C is independent, ending this stanza. A and B simply introduce the mountain of Baal and then lead to the conclusion found in C. The question is, as was true of Stanza I, the main point of the stanza.

Stanza III

1) Philological Study

Lines 11b and 12a:

'l abh y'rṣ

He entered into the presence of his father.

Lines 12b and 13a:

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

ybky (13) *wyšnn*

He wept and gnashed his teeth,

wyšnn — See *UT*, 2453. The verb is *šnn*, "to whet or sharpen one's teeth."

Lines 13b and 14a:

ytn gh (14) *bky*

He uttered his voice in weeping:

Line 14b:

bḥyk abn nšmḫ

We rejoiced in your life, our father,

nšmḫ — *KTU* corrects *CTA* from *a* to *n*, thus solving the problem of the number of the verb.

Line 15a:

blmtk ngln

We exalted in your immortality.

2) Delineation of Stanza III

The most striking change between Stanzas II and III is the movement from direct speech of first person common to third person. The series of third person masculine singular verbs shows that only one person, Keret's son, is singled out to enter the presence of the king. Keret's son, Elhu, speaks the lines in Stanzas I and II, but he speaks on behalf of others, as is indicated by the plural verb *n'tq*. We only know that it is Keret's son because of Keret's reply in line 25. The purpose of the stanza is to reiterate the dilemma expressed in Stanza I and II, only in Stanza III Keret's son is singled out for emphasis.

The stanza is also distinguished from previous lines because of the peculiar word order in line 11b. The line begins with the preposition *l* and ends with the verb. This

order allows the object, "his father," to be placed near the beginning of the line and emphasizes the conflict between father and son. The stanza ends with two lines in definite parallelism; these lines are a direct statement as the son addresses his father. In these lines, Keret's son describes the great benefit Keret is to everyone and how dependent they are upon him. Immediately following this expression of joy, the first stanza is repeated again, reminding the reader of the discrepancy between their hopes and the reality of Keret's illness.

3) Explanation

a) theme — The theme of lamentation is not only present but heightened in this stanza. The verbs *ybky*, *wyšnn* and the phrase *ytn gh* (14) *bky* describe repeatedly what Keret's son is doing as he enters the presence of his father. However what Keret's son cries out expresses a contrast to the theme; Keret is to be a source of joy and life, and not a cause of lament and bitterness. The entire theme of lament then is being used to establish a vivid contrast between what Keret's subjects expect him to be and what is happening to him.

b) structure — The stanza falls into two units. A is primarily the repetition of verbs of the son's lament. This rapid accumulation of verbs increases the intensity of the mourning. B has two lines that are well balanced in their parallelism. These lines are not questions, making this stanza the only one of the first five which has no question in it. Yet the conflict which produced the question is present and is developed further.

Stanza IV

The philological study, delineation of unit and discussion of theme and structure is the same in this stanza as in Stanza I. It remains only to comment on the reason for the repetition of the entire stanza at this point in the poetry.

We noted a movement from Stanzas I to III. In Stanza I,

an indefinite group of people lament the demise of Keret. In Stanza II, nature joins the chorus. In Stanza III, a particular individual, Keret's son, is singled out to show his response to Keret's illness. The movement is from the social order to natural order to someone in Keret's family; the lament includes everyone and everything. The movement is climaxed when the son says Keret is a source of joy and life. Then the poetry breaks off, returning to the original formulation of the problem with the repetition of Stanza I. The repetition reminds us that the poet has simply found different ways of stating the same problem; what is introduced in the first stanza is central to the entire section of Krt.

Stanza V

1) Philological Study

Lines 20 and 21a:

(20) ***ikm yrgm bn il*** (21) ***krt***

How can it be said that Keret is a son of El,

Lines 21b and 22a: see lines 10b and 11a.

Line 22b:

u ilm tmtn

Or shall gods die?

Line 23:

(23) ***špḫ ltpn lyḫ***

Shall the progeny of Latipan not live?

špḫ ltpn — see lines 10b and 11a

2) Delineation of Stanza

Line 20 begins a new stanza which is the climax of the the poetry thus far. The central question concerning the

nature of the king is the focus of attention. Line 24 is set apart from this stanza because it is Keret's reply to his son and his subjects.

3) Explanation

a) theme — The stanza ends as the poet considers the implications of Keret's demise. As in the four previous stanzas, this stanza is not essentially concerned with the cause of Keret's illness, or what might be done to cure it, but on the bewilderment that a god, or someone who is thought to be a god, is dying.

b) structure — The stanza is composed of two units. Parallelism is found only between the two lines in each unit. The units are jointed, however, by the conjunction "or" in line 22, making the stanza a series of questions. There are two views of kingship presented in this stanza. The first is found in part A and is a summary of the publicly believed and expressed view of kingship: Keret is thought to be a son of El. In the form of a rhetorical question, the son ridicules the accepted belief in Keret's divinity. In Keret's dying, he cannot possibly be divine. An alternate view is stated in B through a second rhetorical question: Shall gods die? But the answer of the stanzas is that gods do not die.

The central thrust of these five stanzas is, thus, that gods are immortal, and that proper rule is founded upon the divinity of the king. Keret was thought to be a divinity and his mortality questions this belief. The parallelism in B shows most clearly that the king was considered a god. In line 23, "progeny of Latipan" is in synonymous parallelism with "gods." Furthermore, "progeny of Latipan and the Holy one" is parallel to the name Keret in lines 10-11 and 21-22 so that it is clear that this progeny is Keret. Thus Keret is thought to be a divinity. But, perhaps, as the son suggests, a divinity who dies is no divinity at all, but a fraud.

III. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

These five stanzas found in *KTU* 1.16 I 1-23 present a definite teaching of the proper type of kingship. The story develops around a series of questions which attempt to determine the nature of the king. The conclusion is that the right to rule is based upon the divinity of the king. Moreover, the central characteristic of divinity presented in this section of poetry is that divinities are immortal. The central conflict in the series of stanzas is whether Keret is immortal or not, and hence whether he has the right and ability to be king or is only a fraud. This part of the text does not finally answer the question of Keret's true nature: we know from what can be determined from the rest of Krt that Keret does not die. Nevertheless, the teaching about the nature of proper rule is presented in these stanzas: only those who are divinities, that is, who are immortal, have the right to be king.

Gray's four arguments against divine kingship in this text can be answered as follows. Gray's first point is that the literary style of the parts of Krt which most strongly suggests the divinity of Keret is a style of courtly address. Gray argues that this courtly style is filled with lamentation which is prone to extravagance in language. By this account, however, Gray admits that the text reads as if it is teaching that the king is a divinity. Moreover, the emotional force of language, such as lamentation, is not an extravagance; the purpose of the poetry is found in the theme of lamentation itself. Gray's second point is based on the political situation at the time the texts were written. He suggests that the power of the Egyptian pharaohs over Canaan would make the divinity of Keret or any Canaanite king foolishness. This reading ignores the possibility that Krt may be a polemic against a political situation, and an attempt to present a true understanding of kingship in Canaan in the midst of opposition.

Gray's third and fourth points may be considered together inasmuch as they both refer to names that are given

to Keret. Keret is called a "servant of El" in *KTU* 1.14 III 49 and 51, and Gray concludes that such a title, which limits the status of the king in relation to god, would not be used if Keret were a divinity. Keret is also called a "son of El," both in *KTU* 1.16 I 10 and 20, and Gray says this name cannot indicate sonship by procreation, and, hence, cannot indicate the divine nature of the son. However, the word "servant" seems rather to indicate a hierarchy amongst the gods rather than that Keret is not a divinity; polytheism in the Ugaritic texts does not indicate that all gods are equal in power or status. With regard to the title "son of El," the parallelism in lines 10-11 and 21-23 strongly suggests that the progeny of Latipan / El are considered gods, and it is their immortality which causes the central problem of the passage. The words "servant" and "son" of El do not in themselves form the central argument for Keret's divinity. It is only through the context of the poetry, through the recognition of the purpose of the theme in the five stanzas and through the poetic structure which focuses upon the questions that the argument can be appreciated.

The divinity of Keret alters the understanding of the question of whether Krt is mythological or historical or some combination of the two. If the teaching of Krt is that proper rule is conducted by a divine king, then the literary form of Krt is closer to the mythological texts in Ugarit than is often thought. The question here is not simply whether Keret is an historical figure or not; it is difficult to know what evidence, archaeological or otherwise, could be cited to prove whether Keret was an actual king. But a central part of the debate over the literary form of Krt has been concerned with a textual question of whether Keret is depicted in Krt as a mortal or divine king. If Keret is mortal, the text is historical; if Keret is divine, the text is mythological. What has been argued is that the careful reading of this section of Krt shows that proper rule of human beings is founded upon the divinity of the king. According to the teaching of the text, Keret is both historical and divine.

The teaching regarding kingship in the religion of

Canaan is, as is presented in this one Ugaritic text, in sharp contrast to the account of kingship in the Old Testament. David, for example, who is the Israelite king most honoured by God, is not immortal. Even when David is old and stricken in years, and needs a young maiden to keep him warm, the central question is not, "Why is David dying like mortal men?," but rather, "Who will rule after him?" (1 Kgs 1:1-53), as has been correctly noted by all those who argue that 2 Sam 11-20 and 1 Kgs 1-11 are a depiction of the succession to the throne of David. David is not divine; he will die. Moreover, in those passages where God is called the father of David, and David is called the son of God, 2 Samuel 7:14 and Ps 89:26-27, it is David's seed who will endure forever and not David himself (2 Sam 7:12 and Ps 89:29 and 36).

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A NEW DATUM FOR THE MEANING OF THE DIVINE NAME MILKASHTART[1]

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Phoenician–Punic Texts

I. Tas es–Silg (IVth century B.C.):

[ ]lmlkʿštrt . . h* . ʿ* . [ ]*[2]

II-VII. Umm el-ʿAmed (IIId-IId centuries B.C.):[3]

II. Umm el-ʿAmed 2 (*CIS* I 8)

(1) *lmlkʿštrt ʾl ḥmn* (2) *ʾš ndr ʿbdʾšmn ʿl bny*

To Milkashtart, god of Hammon: that which Abdeshmun offered for his son.

III. Umm el–ʿAmed 3 (*CIS* I 9)[4]

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1 This datum was first presented in a paper at the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Los Angeles, March, 1987.

2 Published by M.G. Guzzo Amadasi in *Missione archeologica italiana a Malta. Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1970* (Publicazioni del Centro di Studio per la Civiltà Fenicia e Punica, 13; Serie Archeologica, 20; Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1973) 92-94.

3 These inscriptions, several of which were originally published in a variety of places, have been gathered together in chap. VIII of M. Dunand and R. Duru, *Oumm el-ʿAmed. Une ville de l'époque hellénistique aux échelles de Tyr* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1962).

4 The portion of this inscription containing line 1 was only discovered in the recent excavations (see Dunand and Duru, *Oumm el-ʿAmed*,

(1) *[l]ʾdn lmlkʿštrt ʾl ḥmn ʾš* (2) *nd[r] ʿbdk ʿbdʾsr bn ʾ[...]*

To the lord, to Milkashtart, god of Hammon: that which your servant Abdusir son of [...] offered.

IV. Umm el-ʿAmed 4 (*KAI* 19, *RES* 1205)

(1) *ʿrpt* ... (2) ... *ʾš bn hʾlm mlʾk mlk*(3) *ʿštrt wʿbdy bʿl ḥmn* (4) *lʿštrt bʾšrt ʾl ḥmn* ...

Portico ... which the god, the 'angel' of Milkashtart, and his servants, the citizens of Hammon, built for Ashtart in the sanctuary of the god of Hammon ...

V. Umm el-ʿAmed 6 (*RES* 307)

(1) *lbʿlytn bn* ʿ(2) *bdḥr khn mlk*(3) *ʿštrt*

For Baalyaton, son of Abdihor, priest of Milkashtart.

VI. Umm el-ʿAmed 13

(1) *lʾdny lmlkʿštrt ʾl ḥmn k[ ]rt ḥrṣ mtm ʾš ytn ʿbdk* (2) *ʿbdʾdny bn ʿbdʾlnm b[n] ʿšt[r]tʿzr bʿl ḥmn kmʿšy* (3) *lhʾlnm mlkʿštrt wmlʾk mlkʿštrt kšmʿ ql ybrk*

To my lord, to Milkashtart, god of Hammon: X of gold X which your servant Abdadoni, son of Abdalonim, son of Ashtartazara, citizen of Hammon, gave as his offering to the gods Milkashtart and the 'angel' of Milkashtart. For they heard his voice. May they bless (him).[5]

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185) and the reference to Milkashtart as "lord" was therefore not recorded in *CIS* I 9 and was not known to earlier scholars (see discussion below).

[5] Several elements of this translation are owing to A. Caquot, "Le dieu Milkʿashtart et les inscriptions de ʾUmm el ʿAmed," *Semitica* 15 (1965) 29-33, notably *kmʿšy* in the meaning "as my gift" and *lhʾlnm* as "to the gods" (for the retention of the definite article after the preposition in the latter phrase, see J. Friedrich, W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (2d ed.; Rome, Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1970) § 119 (p. 53). Caquot's interpretation of both phrases is preferable to C. Krahmalkov's, "Notes on the Inscription of *ʾBDʾDNY* from Umm el-ʿAmed," *RSO* 46 (1971) 33-37.

VII. Umm el-ʿAmed 14

(1) *lʾdny lmlkʿštrt ʾl ḥmn ʾš ndr* (2) *ʿbdk ʿbdʾsr bn ʾrš zkrn kšmʿ ql ybrk*

To my lord, to Milkashtart, god of Hammon: that which your servant Abdusir son of Aris, vowed (as) a memorial when he heard his voice. May he bless him.

VIII. Hispania 10 (*KAI* 71) (IId century B.C.):[6]

(1) *lʾdn lʿzz* (2) *mlkʿštrt wlʿbd*(3)*m lʿm ʾgdr*

To the lord, to the strong one (of?) Milkashtart, and to his servants the people of Cadiz.

IX-XIV. Carthage (*ca.* IId century B.C.):

IX. *CIS* I 250

(1) *lrbt ltnt pn bʿl w*(2)*lʾdn lbʿl ḥmn ʾš nd*(3)*r ḥmlkt bn bʿlḥnʾ bn* (4) *bdʿ]štrt bn ytnmlk* (5) *ʿbd bt mlkʿštrt*

To the lady, to Tannit 'face' of Baal, and to the lord, to Baal-hammon: that which Hamilkat, son of Baalhanno, son of Bodashtart, son of Yatanmilk, servant of the 'house' of Milkashtart, offered.

X. *CIS* I 2785

(1) *lrbt lt–t pn bʿl w* (2) *lʾdn lbʿlḥmn ʾ*(3)*š ndr bdʿš[t]rt* (4) *bn mhrbʿl bn [ḥ]*(5)*nʾ ʿbd b[t] ml*(6)*kʿšt[rt]*

To the lady, to Tannit 'face' of Baal, and to the lord, to Baal-hammon: that which Bodashtart, son of Maharbaal, son of Hanno, servant of the 'house' of Milkashtart, offered.

XI.*CIS* I 4839

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6 Published by J. M. Solá–Solé, "La inscripción púnica hispania 10," *Sefarad* 21 (1961) 251-56.

(1) *[lrbt ltn]t pn b'l[l]* (2) *[wl'dn l]b'lḥmn* '(3)*[š ndr] 'dnb'l bn* (4) *[b'l]ḥn' bn 'zrm*(5)*lk bn b'lḥn' 'bd* (6) *bt mlk'štrt t*(7)*šm' ql' tbrk'*

To the lady, to Tannit 'face' of Baal, and to the lord, to Baalhammon: that which Adonibaal, son of Baalhanno, son of Azrumilk, son of Baalhanno, servant of the 'house' of Milkashtart, offered. May she heed his voice; may she bless him.

XII. *CIS* I 4850

(1) *[l]rbt ltnt pn [b'l]* (2) *wl'dn lb'lḥm*(3)*n 'š ndr b'lšl[k]* (4) *bn b'lḥn' 'bd* (5) *mlk'štrt šm' ql*(6)'

To the lady, to Tannit 'face' of Baal, and to the lord, to Baalhammon: that which Baalshillek, son of Baalhanno, servant of Milkashtart, offered. She heeded his voice.

XIII. *CIS* I 5657

(1) *[lrbt ltn]t pn b'l* (2) *[wl'dn l]b'lḥmn* '(3) *[š ndr] 'dnb'l bn* (4) *[b'l]ḥn' bn 'zrm*(5)*lk bn b'lḥn' 'bd* (6) *bt mlk'štrt t*(7)*šm' ql' tbrk'*

To the lady, to Tannit 'face' of Baal, and to the lord, to Baalhammon: that which Adonibaal, son of Azrumilk, son of Baalhanno, servant of the 'house' of Milkashtart, offered. May she heed his voice; may she bless him.

XIV. *CIS* I 6011 (two inscriptions on one amphora)

A. (1) *šlmb'l*

For Shillembaal.

B. (1) *lmlk'š*(2)*trt* (3) *šny*t šmrb'l* (4) *bn 'bdmlqrt*

To Milkashtart, *šny*t* (of) Shamarbaal, son of Abdimilqart.

XV. Tripolitana 37 (*KAI* 119) (Ist century B.C.)[7]

(1) *l'dn lšdrp' wlmlk'štrt rbt 'lpqy m'š ...*

To the lord, to Shadrapa, and to Milkashtart, principals of Leptis: Gift ...

Ugaritic Texts:

XVI. RS. 24.244 (*Ugaritica V* 7 [=*KTU* 1.100])

40) *t*qr'u l špš.'umh.špš.'um ql.bl.'m*
41) *mlk.'ṯtrth.mnt.nṯk.nḫš.šmrr*

She calls to Shapash, her mother: Shapash, mother, take my message to Milk in Ashtarot: My incantation (against) the bite of the serpent, (against) the venom ...

XVII. RS. 24.251 (*Ugaritica V* 8 [=*KTU* 1.107])

38') (13) *[ḫ]mt.'i[l.]w* ḫrn.y'isp.ḥmt*
39') (14) *[b'l.] w* dgn.y*['i]s*p.ḥmt.'nt.w 'ṯtrt*
40') (15) *[—]sp.ḥmt.yr*ḫ.w ršp ḫ'isp.ḥmt*
41') (16) *['ṯt]r w 'ṯtpr.y'isp.ḥmt.ẓẓ.w kṯ'ṯ*
42') (17) *[ ]sp.ḥmt.mlk.b 'ṯtrt.y'isp.ḥmt*
43') (18) *[kṯ]r w ḫss.y'i*sp.ḥmt.šḥr.w šlm*
44') (19) *[y'is]p.ḥmt.'isp.š*p*š l ḥrm.gṛpl.'l 'arṣ*

... venom. Il and Horan will gather the venom; Baal and Dagan will gather the venom; Anat and Athtart will gather the venom; Yariḫ and Rashap will gather the venom; Athtar and Athtapar will gather the venom; Ẓiẓ and Kamuth will gather the venom; Milk in Ashtarot will gather the venom; Kuthar and Ḫasis will gather the venom; Shaḥar and Shalim will gather the venom. Gather, O Shapash, upon the mountains the cloud, upon the earth ...

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[7] Published by G. Levi Della Vida, "Iscrizione punica di Lepcis," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Rendiconti* 8/10 (1955) 550-61.

XVIII. RS. 24.252 (*Ugaritica V* 2 [=*KTU* 1.108])

1) *[—]n.yšt.rp'u.mlk.'lm.w yšt*
2) *[—]g*ṯr.w yqr.'il.yṯb.b 'ṯtrt*
3) *'il ṯpṭ.b hdr'y.d yšr.w yḏmr*

May Rapi', king of eternity, drink,
May [the god] mighty and honorable drink;
The god who dwells in Ashtarot,
The god who rules in Hadra'i.
...

XIX. RS. 1986.2235[8]

16') *ḫmš.'šr.dd.l.šš̀w.ršp*
17') *ḫ*mš.ddm.l.šš̀w.mlk.'ṯtrt*

Fifteen baskets (of barley) for the horses of Rashap;
Five baskets (of barley) for the horses of Milkashtart.

Discussion

As is frequently the case in Phoenician studies, the slow accumulation of data requires a periodic reassessment of old texts and interpretations in the light of new data. The case of the god Milkashtart is no exception. Known from texts published in the late nineteenth century,[9] this deity has excited much commentary because of the apparent juxtaposition in the name of two divine names, one masculine (*mlk*), the other feminine (*'štrt*). As recently as the middle 1950's,

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[8] This tablet was discovered during regular excavations in 1986. I thank the director of the Mission Française de Ras Shamra–Ougarit, Mme. M. Yon, for permission to quote from this as yet unpublished text, and M. P. Bordreuil for the corrected reading of line 17' (originally read with line 16' as *ḫmš 'šr dd ...*).

[9] See the bibliography on Umm el-'Amed 4 in J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: Vol. 3 Phoenician Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) 118.

eminent Phoenicists were considering Milkashtart to be a feminine deity.[10] The use of the word "lord" as a title of Milkashtart in the Cadiz ring inscription (here text VIII)[11] and in the Umm el-ʿAmed inscriptions (Umm el-ʿAmed 3 [here text III],[12] 13, and 14 [here texts VI, VII])[13] established that the deity was masculine. The title *rbt ʾlpqy* in Tripolitana 37 (here text XV), referring to Shadrapha and Milkashtart, is the only apparently specific indication of femininity. A. Di Vita[14] has shown, however, to the general satisfaction of specialists in Punic studies, that both deities in that inscription are masculine, one Dionysian, the other

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10 E.g., Levi Della Vida in his publication of Tripolitana 37 ("Inscrizione," 553-55); followed by J.-G. Février, "L'inscription punique 'Tripolitaine 37'," *RA* 50 (1956) 185-90, esp. p. 186 — see here above text XV.

11 Masculinity assumed, without discussion, by Solá-Solé ("La inscripción," 251-53) in the *editio princeps*; argued specifically by H. Donner and W. Röllig, *KAI* II (1964) 28 (commentary on their text 19:2-3 [here text IV]; accepted by Levi Della Vida, [Review] *RSO* 39 (1964) 295-314, esp. pp. 306-7; confirmed by Caquot, "Le dieu Milkʿashtart," 32-33, and by A. van den Branden, "Quelques notes concernant l'inscription Trip. 37 = *KAI*. 119," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 31 (1974) 223-26, esp. p. 223.

12 Line 1, containing the phrase *[l]ʾdn lmlkʿštrt ʾl ḥmn*, was discovered only in the recent excavations (publication in 1962 — see above, nn. 3 and 4).

13 Caquot, "Le dieu Milkʿashtart," 32-33. The editors (see n. 3) assumed that the name originally referred to Melqart as "époux d'Astarté" but that "la signification de son nom est oblitérée" and the divinity "se trouve associée à Baal-Hammon ou El-Hammon, probablement à titre d'épouse"; the name at that point would have meant "Milk-ʿastart épouse de Baal-Ḥammon" (Dunand and Duru, *Oumm el-ʿAmed*, 195-96).

14 A. Di Vita, "Shadrapa e Milkʿashtart dei patri de Leptis ed i templi del lato nord-ovest del Foro vecchio leptitano," *Orientalia* n.s. 37 (1968) 201-11.

Heraclean; *rbt* is probably, therefore, an honorary title applicable to males.[15]

Discussions of the divine name Milkashtart since the publication in 1968 of the first three Ugaritic texts cited here have equally shown a marked evolution. In the *editio princeps*, C. Virolleaud gave no inkling that the texts cited could bear on the Milkashtart question,[16] but this omission was soon corrected.[17] Just what the bearing was, however, was not grasped immediately. Liverani observed that *ʿttrt* in *Ugaritica V*, texts 7 and 8 (here texts XVI and XVII), must denote the dwelling ("il nome della sede abituale") of the deity *mlk*,[18] but he downplayed the suggestion made by M. Astour (on the basis of early access to the texts[19]) that the place in question would be Transjordanian Ashtarot.[20] In his important study on Milkashtart published nearly a decade later, Ribichini was still of the opinion that "L'interpretazione più verosimile per l'esegesi di *mlk. ʿttrth* e *mlk b ʿttrt* resta dunque quella di una 'determinata' associazione di un dio *mlk* con la dea Athtart ...."[21] This

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15 Solá-Solé, "La inscripción," 255-56; Caquot, "Le dieu Milkʿashtart," 33; S. Ribichini, "Un'ipotesi per Milkʿashtart," *RSO* 50 (1976) 43-55, esp. pp. 45-46; see M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* ... (Brooklyn: P. Shalom, 1967) 1438b; so also in *KAI* 101:2 (*KAI* II, 111; Caquot, *ibid.*). Recent commentators take CIS I 6011 B:1 (here text XIV) as a feminine proper name (Ribichini, *ibid.*; E. Lipiński, "Vestiges phéniciens d'Andalousie," OLP 15 (1984) 81-132, esp. p. 96), but the first word in line 3 is uncertain both as to reading and as to meaning, and *lmlkʿštrt* in line 1 could constitute a dedication to the deity.

16 *Ugaritica V*, 555, 570, 578.

17 M. Liverani, [Review] *OrAnt* 8 (1969) 338-40, esp. p. 340.

18 *Ibid.*

19 M. Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms," *JNES* 27 (1968) 13-36, esp. p. 21.

20 On this site, see D. Kellermann, "ʿAštārōt – ʿAštərōt Qarnayim – Qarnayim," *ZDPV* 97 (1981) 45-61.

21 Ribichini, "Milkʿashtart," 48.

position was soon rectified in a joint article with P. Xella, where the identification of *ʿttrt* in the Ugaritic texts as a place name was affirmed and the Phoenician / Punic deity Milkashtart was described as "la continuità di una tradizione siropalestinese," but with a reinterpretation of the meaning of the name as "un dio *mlk* (Melqart?) connesso con Astarte."[22] As recently as 1984, however, Lipiński was still explaining the *mlk* element etymologically and claiming that "Les rapports étroits de ce dieu avec la ville d'Ashtarot permettent donc de supposer que le nom de Milkʿashtart signifiait à l'origine 'Roi d'Ashtarot', tout comme celui de Melqart voulait dire 'Roi de la Cité', c'est à dire Tyr."[23]

An important step in the explanation of *Ugaritica V* 7, 8, [=*KTU* 1.100:107] is to link these texts with the second text published in that group (here text XVIII). Though Astour had identified the *ʿttrt* of texts 7 and 8 with Ashtarot in Transjordan and B. Margalit (Margulis) had linked *ʿttrt* and *hdrʿy* with biblical Ashtarot and Edrei,[24] no explicit link

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22 S. Ribichini and P. Xella, "Milkʿashtart, *MLK(M)* et la tradizione siropalestinese sui Refaim," *Rivista di studi fenici* 7 (1979) 145-58, quotations from p. 158.

23 Lipiński, "Vestiges phéniciens," 98; J. Teixidor has assumed the same analysis ("L'interprétation phénicienne d'Héraclès et d'Apollon," *RHR* 200 [1983] 243-55, esp. pp. 249-50). My analysis below of *mlk* as a divine name does not preclude this "etymological" explanation of the origin of the name but I admit to not finding it particularly likely. Divine names built on the root *mlk* go back very far (see my discussion with bibliography, in *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24e campagne* [Ras Shamra- Ougarit 4; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988] chaps. 2, 7, 8) and it would be surprising that the very first one should have been the "king" of Ashtarot in Bashan. And if the divine name *mlk* predated the tradition of the seat of that deity being in Ashtarot, then *mlkʿštrt* meant "*mlk* (DN) of Ashtarot," not "king of Ashtarot."

24 B. Margulis, "The Canaanite Origin of Psalm 29 Reconsidered," *Bib* 51 (1970) 332-48, esp. p. 344; *idem*, "A Ugaritic Psalm," *JBL* 89 (1970) 292-303, esp. pp. 293-94. For a detailed bibliographical discussion, see my study cited in n. 23.

between the deity or deities of the three texts was proposed.[25] I have suggested that the phrase *mlk ʿlm* in *Ugaritica V* 2:1 [=*KTU* 1.108:1] is a punning identification of the much-discussed divine epithet *rpʾu* earlier in that line: *Rāpiʾu*, "the healer," would have been one title of *Milku*, deity whose principal residence would have been Ashtarot, and *malku* (!) *ʿālami*, "king of eternity" (probably of the "underworld") would have been another. If this triple link be acceptable, the "home" of the deity *mlk* in Transjordan is firmly established by the paired city names[26] and the comparison with the relevant biblical texts (Josh 12:4 and related passages) further establishes this localization as well as the possible chthonic character of the deity *mlk* (Og, who dwells in Ashtarot and Edrei, is said to be "from the remnant of the Rephaim" [*miyyeter hārĕpāʾîm*]).[27]

On the basis of these texts, therefore, it was possible to assert that the divine name Milkashtart probably began as a combination of a divine name and a geographical name, though the divine name was not attested as such in

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25 Virolleaud compared the three texts (references here above n. 16), but as he had no explanatory theory, the comparison was purely on the lexical level. Margalit ("Ugaritic Psalm," 294) explicitly rejected a link between the *ʿṯtrt* of *Ugaritica V* 2 [=*KTU* 1.108] and the *ʿṯtrt* of the phrase *mlk bʿṯtrt* in text 8 [=*KTU* 1.107]. In lectures at the Collège de France in June of 1984 I specifically linked the deity of the three texts and identified him as Milku; see the published version of these lectures in *Les textes para-mythologiques* (reference in n. 23). M. H. Pope has alluded to possibilities of connection but has not given a detailed theory of linkage ([Review] *BASOR* 251 [1983] 67-69, esp. p. 68).

26 The similarity beween biblical *ʿdrʿy* and Ugaritic *hdrʿy* is too great to be passed off (though accepting this aspect of Margalit's much broader theory of Rephaism does not imply nor necessitate the acceptance of the entirety of the theory).

27 Ribichini and Xella, "Milkʿashtart, *MLK(M)*," 145-58; M.H. Pope, [Review], 68.

Ugaritic.[28] More and more of these compound divine names are coming to light: two of the more striking examples are *ršp bbt*[29] and *ršp gn*.[30] It is in my opinion likely that others of the compound divine names that have hitherto resisted analysis will eventually be found to have a similar origin though it would not be wise rashly to assume that one syntactic form underlies them all.

The new datum referred to in the title is to be found in RS. 1986.2235 (here text XIX), one of a small lot of texts found during regular excavations in the same general location as the texts discovered in the "tas de déblais" in 1973.[31] The text is not yet published but Caquot has delivered a report to the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres[32] on the particular aspect of the inscription here being discussed. In it the divine name Milkashtart appears as such and this feature of the demonstration of the existence of the

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28 As the parallel entries show, the phrase mlk *ʿṯtrth* in *Ugaritica V* 7:41 [=*KTU* 1.100:41] means "to (the deity) *mlk* in (the locality) *ʿṯtrt*," and does not itself, therefore, constitute an attestation of the compound divine name; *mlk b ʿṯtrt* in text 8 [*KTU* 1.107] is even more explicit in separating the divine name from the place name. For these questions, see my study cited above in n. 23.

29 See M.L. Barré, "^{d}LAMMA and Reshep at Ugarit: The Hittite Connection," *JAOS* 98 (1978) 465-67, esp. p. 467, n. 32; P. Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit — I Testi* (Publicazioni del Centro de Studio per la Civiltà Fenicia e Punica, 21; Studi Semitici, 54; Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1981) 40.

30 See, e.g., F. Vattioni, "L'aramaico è attestato a Ebla?," *Il bilinguismo a Ebla. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Napoli, 19-22 aprile 1982)* (ed. L. Cagni; Series Minor XXII; Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, 1984) 257-66, esp. p. 262.

31 Most of the texts from 1973 were published in photograph only in *Ugaritica VII* ; see my brief description in *AfO* 28 (1981-82) 262-64. A complete catalogue of these texts will be available in the forthcoming *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit* (being prepared by the Mission de Ras Shamra).

32 *CRAIBL* 1986, pp. 438-39; see also P. Bordreuil, forthcoming in *CRAIBL* 1987.

deity in the late second millennium B.C., one that might be considered of some importance, though it comes principally as a confirmation of the more recent views outlined above (extrapolated from the previously existing Ugaritic texts just discussed), may now be registered as in existence.

Two principal aspects of this new datum may be briefly discussed. (1) That it is indeed the deity who is mentioned in RS. 1986.2235. (2) The contribution of the new attestation to the elucidation of the meaning of the divine name.

That the text refers to a deity appears secure to me for two reasons: the immediate contiguity of the deity *ršp* and the mention of "horses." In genre, the text is administrative and consists of a list of barley rations (*śʿrm*) for individuals, for donkeys (*ḥmrm*), and for horses. The only mention of horses is in the two lines cited here and these two lines also contain the only two mentions of deities. Because *ršp* is a well–known deity, because of the high social standing associated with the ownership of horses, and because of the explicit link between various deities and equids in Ugaritic culture[33] and in other related cultures,[34] the conclusion that the barley–rations in RS. 1986.2235:16'-17' were intended for the horses of a deity appears inescapable. It also appears certain that these were living horses and not horse models; what the text does not furnish is any data whatever regarding the function of these horses in Ugaritic society.

In RS. 1986.2235:17' the divine name is written with a word divider between the elements (*mlk*. *ʿṯtrt*). That the parallel slot is filled by the divine name *ršp* indicates that *mlk*. *ʿṯtrt* is a divine name, while the word divider indicates that this divine name was perceived as consisting of two

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33 See especially RS. 18.41:6-8 (PRU V 158 [!] [=*KTU* 1.86]) and RS. 24.244 (*Ugaritica V* 7 [=*KTU* 1.100]).

34 Compare expecially the "horses devoted by the kings of Judah to the Sun" in 2 Kgs 23:11 (apparently horse models, rather than barley–eaters).

separate elements. The lack of a conjunction between *mlk* and *ʿṯtrt* and the fact of a single deity in line 16' make it highly unlikely, in this banal prose text, that *mlk. ʿṯtrt* in line 17' refers to separate deities, *mlk* and *ʿṯtrt*. One can say frankly, however (and the century–old debate over the meaning of the Phoenician–Punic divine name Milkashtart leaves no doubt on this score), that we would have been as mystified by this divine name as by several others that still elude analysis if it were not for the Ugaritic texts already discussed: the now widely recognized fact that a deity named *mlk* was thought to have as principal seat a city named *ʿṯtrt* leaves little room for any conclusion other than that this divine name consists of the divine element *mlk* plus the geographical element *ʿṯtrt*. It is thus highly likely that the first noun is in construct with the second[35] and that the name means "*Milku* of Ashtarot." The analogy provided by the other compound divine names mentioned above supports our conclusion that the first element is the divinity and the second the geographical term, for *ršp bbt* and *ršp gn*, for example, are both written with a word divider between the elements.

Being primarily a Ugaritic philologist, rather than an historian of Phoenician–Punic religion, I will not attempt to say what the name meant for those who were still worshipping this deity in the second half of the first millennium B.C. The two extremes are: (1) the old meaning, "*Milku* of Ashtarot," was preserved and generally known; (2) the old meaning had been totally lost from view and the worshippers of this deity created a new theological construct to explain the juxtaposition. It is possible that this last extreme was obviated by a pronunciation of the second element different

35 The difference in gender makes it *prima facie* unlikely, from the perspective of Ugaritic grammar, that *ʿṯtrt* could be any form of attributive adjectival modifier of *mlk*.

from that of the divine name.[36] The possible identification of this deity with Melqart suggests that the latter divine name originated as a title of Milkashtart: "*Milku* of Ashtarot" would have borne the title *malku qarti* "king of the city" (either of Ashtarot itself or of the underworld "city"; in the latter case it would have been analogous to the title *malku ʿālami* in the Ugaritic text cited above [text XVIII]).

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[36] The ancient sources are not unanimous as to the pronunciation of the geographical name, see Astour, "Ugaritic Serpent Charms,"*JNES* 27 (1968) 21.

LA VIE INTELLECTUELLE ET L'ENSEIGNEMENT À OUGARIT

A la mémoire de Peter Craigie

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Une nouvelle orientation se dessine dans la recherche archéologique, du moins an Proche–Orient et plus particulièrement en Syrie. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas la première fois qu'on assiste à des changements dans ce domaine. On sait que les archéologues ont commencé par être des chercheurs de trésors. C'est progressivement qu'ils se sont acheminés vers des investigations plus désintéressées. Une évolution appréciable fut réalisée quand on se mit à s'occuper des monuments et bientôt la connaissance de l'ensemble architectural d'un site devint l'objectif principal de l'exploration. Puis, de nouveau, on s'intéressa aux objets découverts, non plus en tant que *pièces de musées*, mais en tant que documents scientifiques, susceptibles de déterminer une époque ou d'identifier une civilisation. De ce point de vue, un simple tesson de poterie pouvait être plus important que le bijou le plus précieux. Voici que nous semblons accéder, actuellement, à une étape nouvelle de la recherche archéologique. Les fouilleurs redeviennent des chercheurs de trésors. Mais les trésors ne sont plus les mêmes.

Fascination du cunéiforme

Cette nouvelle étape a commencé du jour où des documents écrits se mirent à surgir en grand nombre du sol de Syrie et d'autres pays du Proche–Orient. Elle se caractérise par la prédilection toute spéciale qu'archéologues, historiens, érudits et intellectuels ont désormais pour les cités

anciennes dont l'exploration fait apparaître des tablettes d'argile, recouvertes de signes cunéiformes.

Science auxiliaire de l'Histoire, l'Archéologie doit surtout viser à nous révéler les événements, les croyances et les cultures du passé. Lorsqu'elle était privée d'une documentation épigraphique, l'Archéologie devait arracher ses informations, par toutes sortes de déductions et d'interprétations, aux monuments dégagés et aux objets recueillis. Grâce aux textes, c'est le passé lui–même qui parle. Aux longs détours que constituaient les spéculations faites à partir de témoins authentiques mais muets, le savant dispose à présent d'un merveilleux raccourci qui lui permet d'établir un contact direct avec les civilsations disparues.

La Syrie, qui compte pourtant des monuments imposants des époques hellénistique, romaine, byzantine, franque et arabe, assiste tout d'un coup à une revalorisation de ses sites. Ce sont des villes comme Ebla, Mari et Ougarit (pour ne mentionner que les plus considérables) qui apparaissent de plus en plus comme les hauts lieux de sa longue histoire.

Ougarit disparue et retrouvée

Ougarit est aujourd'hui un immense champ de ruines, que les fouilles effectuées à partir de 1929 ont mis au jour. Le visiteur qui le parcourt se laisse aussitôt impressionner par les monuments, quoique délabrés, qui s'offrent à son regard. Il pourra compléter ses connaissances en contemplant, dans les musées,[1] les objets livrés par les

[1] Les antiquités de Ras Shamra occupent deux salles au Musée National de Damas (voir A. Joundi, *Catalogue du Musée National de Damas* [Damas: Direction Generale des Antiquites et des Musées, 1969] 15–29), une salle au Musée National d'Alep (voir W. Khayyata, *Guide to the Old Oriental Department, National Museum, Aleppo* [Aleppo: Arab National Printing House, 1977] 39–44) et une salle au Musée de Lattaquié. Au Musée du Louvre, elles se trouvent dans la salle consacrée à la Phénicie (voir P. Amiet, *Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales. Guide du visiteur* [Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1978] 90–104.

travaux. C'est, cependant, en se familiarisant avec les textes déterrés, qu'il a le plus de chance d'entrer en grande intimité avec cette prestigieuse métropole cananéenne du deuxième millénaire avant notre ère.

Mais Ougarit est trop riche. Les documents écrits qu'on y a exhumés ont, en effet, apporté une quantité énorme de renseignements, ouvrant ainsi, à la science, des perspectives illimitées. Des textes mythologiques, religieux, littéraires, scolaires, diplomatiques, économiques et administratifs constituent les éléments essentiels de l'héritage qu'elle nous a laissé.[2] L'initiation à l'ougaritologie[3] prend, dès lors, des dimensions étonnantes. Les ouvrages et les études qui s'en occupent se comptent, à ce jour, par milliers.[4]

C'est précisément grâce aux textes, lesquels datent des 14° et 13° siècles av. J.–C., qu'il nous est possible d'aborder ici l'un des aspects de la civilisation ougaritienne, à savoir la vie intellectuelle à Ougarit ainsi que

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2 Nous ne répéterons pas ce que nous avons écrit ailleurs (voir, entre autres, Gabriel Saadé, *Ougarit, Métropole Cananéenne* [Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1979] 21–22) sur l'indescriptible désordre qui régnait, il n'y a pas très longtemps encore, dans les publications des textes de Ras Shamra. Depuis que Madame Marguerite Yon est à la tête de la mission qui fouille le site, de grands efforts sont déployés en vue de remédier à cette situation. Signalons, à ce propos, que Pierre Bordreuil et Dennis Pardee préparent un répertoire de l'ensemble des textes. Cet ouvrage considérable, intitulé *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit*, ne tardera pas à paraître. De son côté, Jésus–Luis Cunchillos publiera bientôt un important ouvrage intitulé *La trouvaille épigraphique. Bibliographie des textes.* Nous n'oublions pas la remarquable compilation (*KTU*), due à M. Dietrich, O. Loretz et J. Sanmartín, et parue en 1976.

3 On a tendance à employer le mot *ougaritologie* dans un sens assez restreint, c'est–à–dire pour désigner la discipline qui s'occupe de l'écriture cunéiforme d'Ougarit. Il faudrait, à notre sens, l'étendre à toutes les études relatives aux découvertes de Ras Shamra.

4 Voir M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, P.R. Berger, J. Sanmartín, *Ugarit–Bibliographie, 1928–1966* (4 vols.; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1973). Rappelons que, depuis 1972, le bulletin *Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies*, créé par le regretté Peter Craigie, fournit régulièrement des informations sur les nouvelles publications concernant Ras Shamra.

l'enseignement qu'on y pratiquait à cette époque. Sans les documents écrits, nous n'aurions pu tenter des approches dans un domaine qui, à notre connaissance, n'a pas encore été systématiquement étudié.

Un centre intellectuel

Tout ce que nous savons sur Ougarit, en tant que centre intellectuel, nous le tenons donc des dépôts épigraphiques, c'est–à–dire des Bibliothèques et des Archives que les fouilles ont dégagées à Ras Shamra.[5] Il importe, cependant, de faire observer que tous ces dépôts ont été découverts soit dans des palais, soit dans des édifices rattachés d'un façon ou d'une autre à un lieu de culte, soit dans des maisons d'érudits ou de hauts fonctionnaires. Celà étant, les textes expriment la science et les connaissances d'une certaine élite. Tous les Ougaritiens n'étaient pas des intellectuels et des lettrés. D'ailleurs, nous savons par les textes aux–mêmes que les habitants de la cité s'adonnaient surtout au négoce et à l'agriculture, sans compter que l'exploration du site à révélé l'existence de vastes quartiers d'artisans. Il doit donc être entendu que notre exposé concerne une couche bien déterminée, et sans doute asses limitée, de la population. Rappelons, à ce propos, que l'étude des sociétés antiques du Proche–Orient ancien, montre que la culture était généralement l'apanage d'un petit nombre.

Rien ne nous permettra de cerner de près notre sujet comme de nous pencher sur les scribes d'Ougarit ainsi que sur les textes de caractére scolaire qui y furent découverts.

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5 Plusieurs concentrations de textes ent été mises au jour. Dans le Palais Royal, il y a cinq dépôts d'archives (sans compter les tablettes du four et celles du *Bureau annexe*). Le Palais Sud compte un dépôt. Dans le quartier dit résidentiel, on a dégagé une bibliothèque et deux dépôts d'archives. Mentionnons aussi une bibliothèque dans le quartier des temples, une bibliothèque dans la Tranchée Sud et deux bibliothèques dans la Tranchée Sud–Acropole. Ajoutons aussi les tablettes du *tas de déblais*, nom donné à un lot de textes découvert à la suite de travaux n'ayant aucun rapport avec l'exploration archéologique.

De nombreux témoignages, tant épigraphiques qu'archéologiques, attestent une intense activité scolaire. Celle–ci ne se déployait pas nécessairement dans des locaux affectés spécialement à l'enseignement. En l'état actuel des fouilles, on peut dire que l'on n'a pas encore découvert des *écoles* à Ras Shamra. Nous pensons que l'enseignement était donné dans les pièces réservées aux Archives et aux Bibliothèques, où les scribes devaient sans doute passer une bonne partie de leur temps. C'est d'ailleurs dans ces salles que furent trouvés la plupart des document scolaires.

Le serviteur de Nabou et de Nisaba

Dans plusieurs tablettes de Ras Shamra, le scribe ajoute à sa signature: *le serviteur de Nabou et de Nisaba* qui, dans la mythologie mésopotamienne, sont les divinités de l'érudition et du savoir. Ceci montre qu'il était parfaitement conscient de la position éminente qu'il occupait dans le domaine culturel.

Il nous semble, pourtant, que l'on s'est peu préoccupé jusqu'ici des scribes ougaritiens alors qu'ils méritent de faire l'objet d'études méthodiques et minutieuses.[6] Nous connaissons le nom de plusieurs d'entre eux. Nous savons que certains jouissaient d'un grand prestige auprès du pouvoir. D'ailleurs, il y en avait qui étaient attachés à la cour; ce sont les scribes royaux. N'oublions pas que c'est à un scribe (ou à un groupe de scribes) d'Ougarit qu'on doit l'invention, aux environs de 1380 av. J.–C., du système d'écriture cunéiforme alphabétique.[7] On nous parle de

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6 A propos des scribes d'Ougarit, voir J. Nougayrol, *PRU III*, xxxiv–xxxix; W.J. Horwitz, "The Ugaritic Scribe," *UF* 11 (1979) 389–94.

7 Les modes utilisés avant cette invention étaient, d'une part, le hiéroglyphique qui prévalait surtout en Egypte et, d'autre part, le cunéiforme syllabique qui prit naissance en Mésopotamie. Ces deux modes comprenaient des centaines de signes, ce qui en rendait le maniement très incommode. Dans le nouveau système, chaque signe

scribes accadisants, c'est-à-dire spécialisés dans la langue accadienne. On nous parle même de *centres d'études babyloniennes à Ras Shamra*.[8] Nous verrons toutefois que cette spécialisation n'avait rien d'absolu et que l'on ne peut affirmer l'existence de groupes différents de scribes, spécialisés chacun dans l'une des langues parlées ou écrites à Ougarit. La documentation épigraphique montre plutôt des scribes soucieux d'apprendre les diverses langues et les différents systèmes d'écriture.

Suivons le scribe ougaritien dans ses tentatives de se former lui-même dans l'art d'écrire ainsi que dans les efforts qu'il déploie en vue d'enseigner cet art aux autres. Nous estimons qu'il a dû certainement commencer par sa propre langue, celle qui est parlée par la majorité de la population. Il s'agit d'une langue trilitère[9] du nord-ouest. Certains la considèrent comme un dialecte cananéen. D'autres pensent qu'il s'agit d'une langue à part. Aussi utilise-t-on le terme *ougaritique* pour désigner aussi bien la langue elle-même que l'écriture servant à la transcrire. Il importe de signaler qu'elle est très proche de l'arabe avec lequel elle a en commun au moins huit cents mots, ce qui constitue plus des deux tiers des *noms communs* ougaritiques actuellement connus.[10] On a même constaté que certains mots se retrouvent, non dans l'arabe classique, mais dans l'arabe

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correspond, non pas à une syllabe, mais à une lettre, comme dans nos alphabets modernes.

8 J. Nougayrol, "'Vocalises' et 'Syllabes en liberté' à Ugarit," *Assyriological Studies* 16 (1965) 29.

9 Au mot ***sémitique*** qui fut utilisé pour la première fois en 1781 et qui prête à équivoque, nous préférons le mot ***trilitère***. La trilarité (racine à trois consonnes) est, en effect, la caractéristique la plus importante des langues dites sémitiques (Voir H. Fleisch, ***Introduction à l'étude des langues sémitiques*** [Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1947] 20-22).

10 Ceux-ci sont au nombre de 1276. Nous avons déduit ce chiffre à partir du glossaire et des différents index qui figurent dans *UT*, 347-522.

populaire parlé aujourd'hui à Lattaquié et le long du littoral syrien.[11]

Les abécédaires

Les fouilles de Ras Shamra ont livré des abécédaires. Il s'agit de tablettes où les trente lettres de l'alphabet d'Ougarit figurent dans l'ordre où elles étaient habituellement énoncées. Le fait qu'il y ait un ordre déterminé, toujours le même, dans les douze abécédaires découverts jusqu'ici, prouve que ces documents ont été établis pour l'enseignement. On peut, en effet, retenir plus facilement par coeur les trente signes s'ils sont présentés selon une succession bien définie.

A notre connaissance, les douze abécédaires de Ras Shamra n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'une étude d'ensemble. Un examen attentif est pourtant des plus intéressants, car il nous fait, en quelque sorte, assister à l'enseignement que les scribes prodiguaient à leurs élèves, compte tenu du fait qu'aujourd'hui les épigraphistes peuvent aisément reconnaître si les signes cunéiformes ont été gravés par une main habile, ou s'ils l'ont été par une main inexpérimentée. L'analyse de ces documents va nous mettre en présence d'un véritable cours de calligraphie.

Il y a d'abord cinq tablettes[12] où l'alphabet est rédigé en une seule fois à l'exclusion de tout autre texte. Celles qui sont d'une belle écriture constituent sans doute des *modèles* préparés par les scribes à l'intention de leurs élèves. Celles

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11 Voir E. Bittar, *Comparative Semitic Study (with Special Reference to Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac) of the Linguistic Features of the Ugaritic Texts*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wales, 1982.

12 Tablette RS. 10.081 (=*KTU* 5.4) non loin des Archives Ouest, Palais Royal (1938); Tablette RS. 12.63 (=*KTU* 5.6), au voisinage des Archives Ouest, Palais Royal (1948); Tablette RS. 23.492 (=*KTU* 5.19), près de la Bibliothèque de la Tranchée Sud (1960); Tablette RS. 24.288 (=*KTU* 5.21), Bibliothèque Nord de la Tranchèe Sud–Acropole (1961); Tablette RS. 19.31 (=*KTU* 5.12), Palais Sud (1955).

dont l'écriture laisse à redire trahissent des apprentis–scribes essayant de tracer les signes. Une sixième tablette[13] porte seulement les six premières lettres de l'alphabet. Il s'agit, semble–t–il, d'un *devoir* resté, pour une raison ou une autre, inachevé.

Deux autres tablettes nous montrent, de toute évidence, un apprenti–scribe en plein exercice de calligraphie. Dans la première[14] le jeune novice commence par tracer cinq fois, sur le recto, les dix premières lettres. Puis, il retourne la tablette et écrit, deux fois, ces dix premières lettres au haut du verso. Ensuite, plus sûr de lui–même, il copie s'un seul trait les trente lettres de l'alphabet. La seconde tablette[15] comporte, dans sa partie supérieure, les trente signes de l'alphabet que le maître, d'une main habile, trace sur deux lignes, comptant respectivement vingt–deux et huit lettres. Au–dessous, l'élève naïf ou distrait copie le modèle, d'une main inexpérimentée, sans suivre l'ordre des lignes. Il commence, en effet, par les huit lettres de la seconde ligne puis il écrit les vingt–deux lettres de la première ligne.

Signalons, en outre, une curieuse tablette[16] qui paraît être soit un brouillon, soit un modèle à l'usage des scribes chargés de la correspondance. Sur la tranche latérale gauche, figurent les dix premières lettres de l'alphabet et, sur la tranche latérale droite, les onze premières lettres. En même temps, la tablette comporte des voeux comme on en voit souvent dans les messages découverts à Ras Shamra: "Que les dieux te gardent, te sauvent!," "Que les dieux t'accordent des milliers de jours et des myriades d'années!," "Que le plus cher de ses désirs soit accordé par les dieux à

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13 Tablette RS. 15.71 (=*KTU* 5.8), Archives Est, Palais Royal (1951).

14 Tablette RS. 19.40 (=*KTU* 5.13), Archives Sud–Ouest, Palais Royal (1955).

15 Tablette RS. 24.281 (=*KTU* 5.20), Bibliothèque Nord de la Tranchée Sud–Acropole.

16 Tablette RS. 16.265 (=*KTU* 5.9), Bureau annexe, Palais Royal (1952).

mon frère à mon ami! " On y lit aussi le verbe *donner* répété plusieurs fois sous diverses formes.

Il y a deux tablettes où, à côté d'un texte rédigé en accadien, on voit des essais de rédaction de l'alphabet. Dans la première,[17] le recto comporte d'abord les quinze premières lettres de l'alphabet sur une seule ligne, puis l'ensemble de l'alphabet réparti sur trois lignes, puis l'alphabet (dont subsistent seulement sept lettres) est écrit à nouveau. Au verso, il y a les dix premières lettres de l'alphabet. La seconde tablette[18] contient deux fois l'abécédaire, l'un, complet, est réparti sur trois lignes, l'autre conserve seulement sa partie droite.

Mentionnons, enfin, une tablette[19] où les trente lettres de l'alphabet d'Ougarit sont disposées en colonnes. Face à chacune, figure le signe correspondant du syllabaire accadien. Il s'agit là, sans doute, d'un tableau synoptique à l'intention des scribes ayant à traduire un texte ougaritique en accadien et réciproquement.

Les langues étrangères

Dans les textes découverts à Ras Shamra, plusieurs formes d'écriture ont été identifiées, lesquelles servaient à exprimer sept langues: l'ougaritique, le hourrite, le sumérien, l'accadien, le chypriote, l'égyptien et le hittite. Cette diversité, au dire de Pierre Bordreuil, confère à Ougarit la palme de l'internationalisme linguistique.[20]. Elle s'explique par la composition ethnique de la population et

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17 Tablette RS. 20.148 + 21.69 (=*KTU* 5.16) sans doute dans la Maison de Rapanou (1956).

18 Tablette RS. 20.164 (=*KTU* 5.17), sans doute dans la maison de Rapanou (1956).

19 Tablette RS. 19.159 (=KTU 5.14), Archives Sud-Ouest, Palais Royal (1955).

20 P. Bordreuil, "Langues et Ecritures," *MDB* (mars-avril 1987) 27-28.

par les rapports politiques et économiques que le royaume ougaritien entretenait avec les pays environnants.

A côté des Cananéens, qui en constituaient la majorité, la population d'Ougarit comptait un nombre appréciable de Hourrites. Ce peuple, venu du nord–est de la Syrie, parlait et écrivait le hourrite, lequel forme un type linguistique à part dans le cadre des langues du Proche–Orient. Ajoutons aussi l'élément chypriote dont l'installation à Ougarit (et dans son port) est confirmée aussi bien par des textes que par des trouvailles archéologiques. Mais la pauvreté de la documentation épigraphique ne nous renseigne pas suffisamment sur l'importance numérique de cet élément, de même que nous ignorons si sa présence fut permanente ou temporaire. En conclusion, on peut dire que la population d'Ougarit comprenait surtout des Cananéens, un élément important de Hourrites et un nombre encore indéterminé de Chypriotes.

Et les Egyptiens?.. Peut–on, à leur propos, parler d'un contingent semblable à celui des Chypriotes que comptait la population d'Ougarit? Nous pensons qu'il faut plutôt parler d'une certaine *présence* égyptienne. Celle–ci se manifeste par de nombreuses inscriptions et par une grande quantité d'objets d'art livrés par les fouilles.[21]

Ces divers documents nous apprennent qu'un représentant de la cour pharaonique habitait une vaste demeure proche du Palais Royal et, en même temps, s'adonnait à un négoce actif. Des égyptiens, chargés de missions temporaires ou durables, ainsi que des particuliers, semblent avoir résidé à Ougarit. Les textes de Ras Shamra parlent d'un médecin égyptien appelé par le souverain ougaritien, d'un égyptien qui reçoit ou achète une maison au roi, d'égyptiens s'occupant de l'huile et du vin de la place. On sait aussi qu'une princesse de la vallée du Nil épousa un roi de la métropole cananéenne. Par ailleurs, les trouvailles

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21 Au sujet de la présence égyptienne à Ougarit, nous conseillons de consulter J. et E. Lagarce, "Le chantier de la maison aux albâtres," *Syria* 51 (1974) 5–24; voir également C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica III*, 164–78.

archéologiques montrent que l'art ougaritien a souvent utilisé des thémes et des motifs empruntés à l'art égyptien.

Et les Hittites?.. Etant donné le rôle prééminent que le royaume hittite jouait dans les destinées d'Ougarit, aux 14º et 13º siècles av. J.–C., on se serait attendu à voir plus de traces anatoliennes dans la métropole du littoral syrien. Sur le plan de l'art, l'influence hittite est insignifiante, comparée à celle de l'Egypte ou à celle de Chypre. L'influence culturelle est négligeable comparée à celle de la Mésopotamie. Quant à l'apport épigraphique, il est très limité. L'écriture hiéroglyphique hittite n'apparaît que dans les sceaux apposées sur des tablettes accadiennes émanant de la cour hittite ou de ses vassaux et alliés. Quant au hittite cunéiforme classique, il est connu jusqu'ici à Ras Shamra par deux tablettes considérées par les spécialistes comme de provenance étrangère. A part des messagers ou des commerçants qui, de temps à autre, traversaient Ougarit, rien ne permet de croire à une installation de hittites sur la place. Rappelons cependant que le personnage hittite du nom de Patilouwa, conservé sur une chevalière trouvée dans sa maison à Ras Shamra, était peut–être un représentant du royaume hittite.

Le sumérien fut pendant plus de mille ans, soit de 3500 à 2500 av. J.–C. environ, la seule langue écrite de la Mésopotamie. Il devait rester longtemps après, dans l'Asie Occidentale, la langue réservée aux prêtres et aux érudits. A Ougarit, le sumérien est une *langue morte*. Nous le trouvons dans les documents lexicographiques et dans les textes littéraires ou magiques. L'écriture accadienne en cunéiforme syllabique est née en Mésopotamie vers le milieu du troisième millénaire avant notre ère. Au deuxième millénaire, cette écriture était répandue dans tout le Proche–Orient, comme langue de chancellerie, adoptée dans la correspondance internationale. A Ougarit, l'accadien occupait une double fonction. D'une part, il était, tout comme le sumérien, une langue savante que nous trouvons dans les textes lexicographiques, littéraires, magiques et même juridiques. D'autre part, il était utilisé dans la corre-

spondance et autres textes de caractère officiel que le royaume ougaritien échangeait avec le monde extérieur.[22]

Maintenant qu'est mise au clair la situation des différentes langues attestées à Ras Shamra, il devient plus aisé de définir la position des scribes d'Ougarit face à chacune d'entre elles.

Ce que nous savons sur l'histoire d'Ougarit et sur sa vie économique montre que c'est avec le royaume hittite, avec l'Egypte et avec Chypre qu'elle avait le plus de rapports. Les archives de Ras Shamra ont, en effet, livré une abondante correspondance avec ces contrées ainsi que des actes officiels de caractère international, traitant de questions politiques, économiques, militaires ou juridiques. Tous ces documents sont évidemment rédigés en accadien qu'Ougarit, ainsi qu'on l'a dit, utilisait dans ses rapports avec les pays étrangers. La connaissance de leurs langues respectives n'était donc pas, en principe, une nécessité pour les scribes ougaritiens. Est–ce à dire qu'ils les ignoraient complètement?

En ce qui concerne l'écriture hiéroglyphique égyptienne, on peut admettre que certains scribes locaux se sont plu à l'apprendre. Fascinés par cette écriture belle et raffinée, ils étaient sans doute tentés de lire les inscriptions des présents et des offrandes qui parvenaient à Ougarit, surtout que ces dernières étaient sans doute exposées dans les temples. Il importe de signaler que, parmi les inscriptions égyptiennes découvertes à Ras Shamra, il en est qui ne sont pas gravées par des scribes de la vallée du Nil. C'est ainsi que l'inscription du petit socle découvert dans le Palais Sud semble avoir été écrite par un scribe ougaritien, ayant l'habitude des signes hiéroglyphiques. On pourrait en dire autant de l'inscription figurant sur la stèle offerte par le dénommé Maimi au Temple de Ball, ainsi que du cartouche de pharaon Mineptah, qui est gravé sur une épée fabriquée à

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22 Rappelons que les tablettes accadiennes recueillies à Ras Shamra sont, après les tablettes ougaritiques, les plus nombreuses et constituent, avec ces dernières, la grande majorité des textes découverts.

Ougarit même. En ce qui concerne les Hittites, nous n'avons aucune preuve que nos scribes pouvaient connaître leur langue. Il n'est pas impossible cependant que certains aient voulu apprendre la langue d'une puissance qui exerçait, à cette époque, une sorte de suzeraineté sur leur pays. On verra plus loin que les scribes d'Ougarit se sont peut–être occupés d'un texte littéraire hittite importé.

En ce qui concerne les Chypriotes, le problème se présente de façon sensiblement différente. Il ne s'agit pas seulement d'échanges de correspondance d'Etat à Etat, correspondance dont plusieurs spécimens en accadien ont été trouvés à Ras Shamra. Il s'agit aussi, comme on l'a dit, d'une langue parlée à Ougarit, fut–ce à petite échelle, par des commerçants chypriotes installés sur place. Les scribes ougaritiens ont–ils, en conséquence, appris à lire et à écrire le chypro–minoen?..

Les fouilles n'ont livré aucun document de caractère scolaire ou lexicographique révélant chez les scribes locaux le désir de s'initier à cette écriture, comme c'est le cas pour d'autres langues étrangères. Mais, d'autre part, les tablettes et fragments de tablettes rédigés en chypro–minéen ont été tous trouvés dans des dépôts de textes (Archives du Palais Sud, Bibliothèque du *lettré*, Archives de Rapanou) c'est–à–dire dans les endroits les plus fréquentés par les scribes ougaritiens. Rappelons enfin que la tablette recueillie dans la maison de Rapanou, qui est la mieux conservée, a été rédigée par une main hésitante, pas trés familiarisée avec les signes chypro–minoens et l'on pense qu'elle est l'oeuvre d'un scribe cananéen, sans compter que ce texte a été identifié comme une liste nominative de type ougaritique et, de plus, comportant des noms propres qui paraissent locaux.[23]

Par ailleurs, on sait que dans le site de Hala Sultan Tekké, à Chypre, fut trouvée une coupe en argent portant

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23 Voir E. Masson, *Cyprominoica* (Göteborg: Paul Astroms, 1974) 34 et 38.

une inscription en ougaritique.[24] Faut–il en conclure qu'elle fut gravée par un scribe de l'île qui, sous l'influence des scribes du littoral voisin, a utilisé le système cunéiforme alphabétique? Des découvertes, résultant de fouilles ultérieures à Ras Shamra ou à Chypre, pourraient peut–être nous renseigner davantage sur une possible collaboration entre scribes cananéens et scribes chypriotes.

Nos scribes, dont les rapports avec l'égyptien, le hittite et le chypriote sont encore très aléatoires, avaient pratiquement affaire à quatre langues: les deux langues parlées à Ougarit, soit l'ougaritique et le hourrite; une langue savante, soit le sumérien; une langue à la fois savante et internationale, c'est–à–dire l'accadien. Les trouvailles épigraphiques nous montrent, de façon évidente, l'effort qu'ils fournissaient pour se perfectionner dans ces langues et pour les enseigner à leurs élèves.

Cet effort se manifeste dans une certaine catégorie de documents que nous pouvons considérer comme des instruments de travail. Tels étaient surtout les abécédaires détaillés plus haut, notamment celui qui constituait un tableau synoptique ougaritico–accadien. Tels étaient surtout les vocabulaires polyglottes dont de nombreux exemplaires, de types variés, ont été retrouvés à Ras Shamra. Il s'agit de véritables *dictionnaires* à l'usage des scribes dont l'activité embrassait plusieurs langues. Dans ces lexiques bilingues, trilingues ou quadrilingues, les termes sumériens ou accadiens, ou les deux à la fois, sont accompagnés de leur traduction ou équivalence en ougaritique et en hourrite ou seulement dans l'une de ces deux langues.

Le hourrite, tel qu'on le connaissait avant les découvertes de Ras Shamra, était écrit en cunéiforme syllabique. A Ougarit, à côté des tablettes hourrites rédigées selon ce système, on en a trouvé qui adoptent le système cunéiforme alphabétique. On se demande si ce sont des scribes

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24 Voir P. Bordreuil, "Cunéiformes alphabétiques non canoniques II. A propos de l'épigraphe de Hala Sultan Tekké," *Semitica* 33 (1983) 7–15.

cananéens qui ont voulu appliquer à la langue hourrite ce mode d'écriture plus commode, ou si ce sont des scribes hourrites qui l'ont emprunté à leurs confrères autochtones. Or nous constatons que les tablettes rédigées selon le système alphabétique sont surtout des textes religieux ou rituels. On y voit des litanies et des hymnes généralement propres au culte hourrite, ainsi que des listes divines mentionnant des divinités hourrites. De même, on trouve certaines tablettes comportant un texte en hourrite alphabétique et, en même temps, des passages en ougaritique alphabétique. Il semble donc que les scribes de souche hourrite devaient bien connaître l'ougaritique.

Il est, en tout cas, évident que les scribes d'Ougarit maniaient avec beaucoup d'aisance les langues et les écritures étrangères, surtout l'accadien. C'est ainsi que l'on voit quatre textes liturgiques en langue accadienne mais rédigés selon le système alphabétique local. Il convient de signaler aussi les nombreux documents écrits en ougaritique, où apparaissent de façon insolite des mots, des nombres ou des passages en accadien.

On comprend dès lors que les scribes d'Ougarit soient devenus d'excellents traducteurs. De même qu'aujourd'hui on a recours pour les thèmes versions, à des extraits de la littérature classique, nos scribes mettaient leur savoir à l'épreuve en traduisant des oeuvres de la littérature classique d'alors, c'est-à-dire de la littérature babylonienne. Cela nous a valu la découverte, parmi les ruines de Ras Shamra, de beaux morceaux extraits d'oeuvres mésopotamiennes.

Par ailleurs, les archives officielles nous fournissent divers exemples de traductions. C'est ainsi que les fouilles ont livré deux versions, l'une accadienne, l'autre ougaritique, de certains documents diplomatiques. On y constate aussi la présence de lettres destinées à l'étranger et cependant rédigées dans la langue locale. Il s'agit évidemment de *minutes* ou de *brouillons*, en cunéiforme alphabétique, de messages qui furent expédiés en accadien. Inversement, les archives comptent des lettres provenant de l'étranger et rédigées en ougaritique. On a là, sans doute,

des traductions de documents venus d'ailleurs et dont l'administration royale tenait à détenir une copie dans la langue locale.

Ecriture et culture

L'écriture a–t–elle servi, à Ougarit, de véhicule aux idées et aux connaissances? La documentation épigraphique de Ras Shamra ne nous fournit pas, de façon explicite, des informations sur la *culture* des Ougaritiens, c'est–à–dire sur leurs connaissances dans les différents domaines du savoir. Un long et laborieux travail serait souhaitable qui permettrait de glaner, dans la masse des tablettes exhumées, ce qui pourrait nous éclairer à ce sujet.

Signalons d'abord la présence à Ougarit d'érudits. Nous en connaissons au moins deux. Il y a, en premier lieu, le fameux Rapanou. Que ce nom soit celui du propriétaire de la demeure où un important lot de tablettes fut découvert, ou celui du scribe qui rédigea un certain nombre d'entre elles, un fait demeure certain, cette maison était habitée par un personnage d'une vaste culture, comme le prouvent de nombreux documents écrits conservés dans sa bibliothèque privée et dans ses archives. Le nom du second personnage ne nous est pas connu; aussi l'a–t–on désigné sous le nom de *lettré*. La bibliothèque retrouvée dans sa maison montre que c'était un érudit et un grammairien versé dans les différentes écritures alors utilisées. On a également recueilli chez lui un intéressant document sur l'art d'écrire.[25]

Nous parlerons des listes. Ces documents nous paraissent, en effet, bien révélateurs du niveau intellectuel d'Ougarit. Un nombre considérable en ont été ramassés dans les dépôts épigraphiques de Ras Shamra. On se demande même si jamais site archéologique en a livré autant. Il est vrai que la plupart concernent l'administration ou l'activité économique de la cité et de son royaume. Mais il

25 Voir notre article, "L'art d'écrire," *MDB* (mars–avril 1987) 26–27.

en est qui constituent des *aide-mémoires* ou même des *fiches*, semblables à celles que tiennent les savants de nos jours. A l'exemple de ceux-ci, les érudits d'Ougarit désiraient avoir, à portée de main, des tablettes à même de leur fournir immédiatement les renseignements dont ils pourraient avoir besoin.

Nous citerons d'abord un document fort intéressant qui compte environ cinq cents lignes, réparties sur huit colonnes. Il s'agit d'une sorte *d'encyclopédie* où sont énumérés, en sumérien, des noms de poissons, d'oiseaux, de textiles, d'étoffes et de vêtements.

D'autres listes ont permis de restituer un tableu des mesures de poids, de capacité et de surface, en viguer dans le royaume.

Il y a également plusieurs listes des divinités d'Ougarit, dont l'une est traduite en accadien, ainsi qu'une liste des divinités hourrites. Il y a mieux. Dans un document polyglotte énumérant des noms divins, nous trouvons, en face de chaque divinité sumérienne, la divinté ougaritienne et la divinité hourrite correspondantes. On a, de la sorte, un tableau de religion comparée, vieux de plus de trois mille ans!

Signalons la découverte, à Ras Shamra, de quelques textes médicaux, compte tenu du fait qu'à cette époque la médecine est intimenent mêlée à la magie. Citons notamment un texte assez mutilé qui nous laisse deviner qu'il y est question de prescriptions médicales. On y parle de certaines denrées qu'il y a lieu d'administrer aux malades après les avoir broyées et fait chauffer. Les textes de conjuration mentionnent parfois des maladies et des médicaments. C'est ainsi que, dans un receuil de formules magiques, on cite, en fait de maladies, la migraine, l'influenza, le haut mal, la catarrhe, le mal de montagne, le mal de dent, du poumon et du ventre, ainsi que les malaises des muscles et de la chair. Parmi les prescriptions thérapeutiques, nous trouvons le tamaris et la tragacanthe, qui étaient employés comme plantes médicinales. Un passage du même texte semble désigner les

bains de vapeur. Une conjuration contre les maux d'yeux paraît évoquer l'ophtalmie puisqu'on y parle *des yeux troubles, des yeux troublés, des yeux fils du vent, des yeux bol de sang*. La présence, dans la société ougaritienne, de médecins attitrés s'occupant des malades, est attestée par ce passage d'une lettre: *Voici que, moi, je suis très malade, et le médecin, à mon sujet a dit que peut-être je guérirai et peut-être je mourrai*. Citons enfin un texte trouvé en quatre exemplaires, indiquant les soins à apporter aux chevaux malades.[26]

Les textes astrologiques ne nous éclairent que très vaguement sur les connaissances astronomiques des Ougaritiens. Signalons cependant une inscription gravée sur un cylindre et qui pourrait être le compte rendu d'une éclipse du soleil. Quant à la culture musicale des habitants, elle est attestée par quelques tablettes hourrites,[27] sans compter que la place occupée par la musique dans les cérémonies religieuses et les instruments utilisés nous sont révélés par certains textes et objets livrés par les fouilles.[28]

La science juridique chez les Ougaritiens nous est bien connue grâce aux textes. Il est vrai que Ras Shamra n'a pas, comme la Mésopotamie, restitué des *codes*. Mais le Droit, tel qu'il était pratiqué en fait, nous est révélé par de nombreux actes juridiques de tous genres: ventes, achats, mariages, legs, donations, testaments, partages, etc.[29] Ces actes sont rédigés dans un style clair et concis. Ils comportent ordinairement les noms des témoins, ce qui dénote une tradition juridique bien établie. Les textes

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26 Voir D. Pardee, *Les textes hippiatriques de Ras Shamra-Ougarit* (Paris: Maison de l'Orient, 1985).

27 Voir R. Vitale, "Tablette musicale h.6 (RS 15.30 + 15.49 + 17.387). Quelques remarques sur la traduction et l'interprétation de la notation musicale," *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 29–30 (1979–80) 41–62.

28 A. Caubet, "Chante en l'honneur de Baal," *MDB* (mars–avril 1987) 33.

29 Voir G. Boyer, "La place d'Ugarit dans l'histoire de l'ancien Droit oriental," *PRU III*, 283–308.

montrent une cité très attachée au respect des accords conclus. Un document nous révèle le courroux du roi contre des gens qui ont falsifié une décision juridique royale. On y lit que des gens *ont commis une grande faute, qu'ils ont fait une copie du grand sceau du roi et qu'ils ont écrit des tablettes fausses, au sein même d'Ougarit ...Mais le roi ne les a pas mis à mort, il les a seulement déclarés faussaires. Eux-mêmes, faussaires, et leurs fils faussaires aussi, au Palais n'entreront plus!..Sur le territoire de la ville, ils n'entreront plus!..*

La presque totalité des documents juridiques est rédigée en accadien et non dans la langue parlée par les habitants de la ville. En utilisant pour ces actes une langue savante, on a peut-être voulu leur donner un caractère plus solennel. C'est ainsi que certains pays d'Europe ont continué, jusqu'à une époque relativement récente, à établir des documents officiels en latin.

Le caractère évolué d'Ougarit se manifeste par divers indices apparemment insignifiants mais qui n'en révèlent pas moins une civilisation avancée. Sur le plan administratif, nous signalons des documents qui paraissent être des recensements de propriétes, d'autres qui sont des extraits de cadastre, sans compter les listes toponymiques qui sont souvent comme un tableau de géographie administrative du royaume.

Signalons aussi le soin apporté à l'organisation et au classement des Bibliothèques et des Archives. A ce propos, il convient de mentionner les étiquettes[30] qu'on y a trouvées. Ces étiquettes scellaient le lien d'un sac qui contenait la tablette. L'inscription figurant sur l'étiquette est souvent un résumé du texte de la tablette, parfois les premiers mots

30 Pour les étiquettes de Ras Shamra, voir P. Bordreuil, J. et E. Lagarce, A. Bounni et N. Saliby, "Les découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques de Ras Ibn Hani en 1983," *CRAIBL* 1984, 417-18.

quand il s'agit d'un document administratif impossible à résumer, parfois aussi l'adresse du destinataire.[31]

Les poèmes mythologiques

Les mythes et les légendes trouvés à Ras Shamra représentent les croyances religieuses des Ougaritiens. Leur découverte a eu un grand retentissement et fait couler beaucoup d'encre.

On sait que c'est ordinairement par la tradition orale que les peuples commencent par se transmettre les textes qui sont à la base de leurs croyances. C'est lorsqu'ils atteignent une certaine maturité intellectuelle qu'ils entreprennent de les consigner par écrit. Sous la forme qui nous est parvenue, ces poèmes datent du 14º siècle av. J.–C., au moment même où fut créée l'écriture cunéiforme alphabétique locale. Les tablettes mentionnent plus d'une fois qu'elles furent gravées par le scribe Ilimilkou, disciple lui même du Grand–Prêtre, sur ordre (ou sous le règne) du roi Niqmad qui régna, approximativement, de 1370 à 1340/35 av. J.–C. Mais pour diverses raisons, linguistiques et autres, il faut reporter plus haut dans le temps leur formation.

Nous ne sommes pas en mesure, avec les données actuelles, de savoir si les scribes se sont contentés de reproduire intégralement les récits tels qu'ils furent transmis verbalement de génération en génération ou si, à partir de récits traditionnels, ils ont *composé* ces beaux textes dont la valeur littéraire est indéniable. On peut dire, cependant, que ces poèmes représentent à leur manière l'un des aspects de la littérature cananéenne d'Ougarit.[32]

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31 Il est certain que les objets d'art découverts à Ras Shamra ainsi que l'architecture des monuments dégagés sont révélateurs du niveau culturel d'Ougarit. Nous ne les avons pas abordés ici pour ne pas allonger démesurément notre article, d'autant plus que notre exposé se base essentiellement sur les données de la documentation épigraphique.

32 M. Yon, "Les mythes et legendes," *MDB* (mars–avril 1987) 40.

Littérature

Des textes proprement littéraires furent découverts dans la zone méridionale de Ras Shamra. Il est vrai que la plupart sont des versions syriennes d'originaux mésopotamiens ou, du moins, sont d'inspiration mésopotamienne. Par ailleurs, il est possible, comme on l'a dit plus haut, que ces textes aient été surtout utilisés dans l'enseignement, notamment dans les travaux de traduction. Mais un fait demeure acquis. Ougarit connaissait les oeuvres classiques de l'époque et s'y intéressait, ce qui constitue un indice important de son niveau culturel. Nous allons passer rapidement en revue les textes littéraire découverts jusqu'ici.[33]

Citons d'abord un fragment du Récit du Déluge et des fragments qui paraissent avoir quelque rapport avec la fameuse Epopée de Gilgamesh. Citons aussi un beau poème que l'on a intitulé "*Le juste souffrant*," dont il existe une version babylonienne plus tardive, légèrement différente. Il y a également un recueil de conseils donnés par un père à son fils. Un duplicata en fut découvert à Bogazkoy, capitale des Hittites, mais qui appartient lui aussi à la tradition mésopotamienne. Il y a , en outre, une tablette où figure en sumérien, en accadien et en hittite, un long poème dans lequel un individu donne une description poétique de sa mère. Quoiqu'une version originale sumérienne soit attestée vers 1700 av. J.–C., il semble que la tablette ait été rédigée par un scribe de la capitale hittite. Puis, elle fut importée à Ougarit pour y être copiée ou adaptée par les scribes locaux.

Mentionnons enfin un texte qui, plus que les autres, met en valeur la personnalité ougaritienne, car on n'en a pas découvert le texte correspondant dans la littérature babylonienne. Il s'agit d'un recueil de sentences trouvé en trois exemplaires. Il semble que l'on ait affaire aux copies de trois élèves d'une classe de *composition littéraire* d'Ougarit, à qui l'on avait demandé de traiter de la condition

33 Nous suivons, pour ces textes, le commentaire de J. Nougayrol dans *Ugaritica V*, 265–319.

de l'homme, à partir de dictons et de sentences connus. Ce texte exprime un pessimisme qui découle de la misère originelle de l'homme plongé dans la nuit d'un monde dont il ne peut sonder les profondeurs et dont il ne connaît que les souffrances. En voici des extraits:

> Comme le ciel est lointain, la main ne le sait pas
> Comme est profonde la terre ...personne ne le sait
> Une vie sans lumière, qu'a–t–elle de plus que la mort?
> En échange du bonheur d'un seul jour, des jours de larmes
> Et l'année de s'écouler en trente–six mille maux ...
> Les hommes, ce qu'ils font, ne le savent pas eux–mêmes
> Le sens de leurs jours et de leurs nuits se trouve auprès des dieux

PART B

Ugaritic & Biblical Studies

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MIZZĔBUL LÔ: À PROPOS DE PSAUME 49:15

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La racine sémitique ZBL connue en hébreu biblique par le nom *zĕbul*[1] et par la forme verbale *yizbĕlēnî* exprime certainement l'idée d'élévation.[2] Si le sens concret est visé à Hab 3:11 où zĕbulâ doit être traduit par, "au zénith," *mizzĕbul qodšĕkā* d'Es 63:15 "depuis ta hauteur sainte" désigne la résidence céleste de Dieu aussi bien que sa résidence terrestre puisqu'à 1 Rois 8:13 (= 2 Chr 6:2) le temple de Salomon est appelé *bêt zĕbul*.[3] A Gen 30:20 *yizbĕlēnî*, "Il m'élèvera"[4] entend exprimer l'espoir de Léa, escomptant renforcer sa propre position d'épouse aux yeux de Jacob, grâce à la naissance de Zabulon (*zĕbulûn*).

Avant d'aborder la *crux* qui fait l'objet de cette étude, on examinera les attestations de cette racine et d'abord les textes alphabétiques d'Ougarit, décisifs pour l'intelligence du *zĕbul* biblique.

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1 Voir J. Gamberoni, "*z^{e}ḫul*," *TWAT* 2 (1977) 531-34.

2 Voir R.B. Coote, "Sybil: 'oracle,'" *JNWSL* 5 (1977) 3-8 (7 n. 28).

3 *zĕbul* est probablement ici à la fois au sens propre: lieu élevé et au sens figuré: domination: cf. M. Görg, "Die Gattung des sogenannten Tempelweihespruchs (1 Kg 8,12f.)," *UF* 6 (1974) 56.

4 M. Held, "The Root ZBL/SBL in Akkadian, Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew," *JAOS* 88 (*Essays in Honour of E.A. Speiser*) (1968) 91.

I. Attestations de ZBL

A Ougarit ZBL est l'apanage de l'ensemble des dieux puisqu'Ilou s'écrie / TB . BNY . LMTB[T]KM . LKḤT . ZBLK[M] / : "Asseyez-vous mes fils sur vos sièges, sur vos trônes de princes" (*CTA* 16 [=*KTU* 1.16] V 24-25)[5] et en particulier de Yarihou (*CTA* 15 [=*KTU* 1.15] II 4; *CTA* 19 [=*KTU* 1.19 IV 2] 164), de Rashap (*CTA* 15 [=*KTU* 1.15] II 6), de Yammou (*CTA* 2 [= *KTU* 1.2] IV 14 etc. ...) qui est aussi qualifié de juge (TPṬ), de Moutou (RS. 24.293 [=*KTU* 1.133] 19)[6] de Baalou enfin (*CTA* 5 [=*KTU* 1.5] VI 10 etc. ...) qui est qualifié de ZBL ARṢ. On connaît encore l'anthroponyme *pí-zi-ip-li* (RS. 16.263:14s.) et *pí-zi-bi-l[i]* (RS. 15.42 I 14).[7]

Si ZBL est un titre divin à Ougarit, c'est en même temps un titre royal (*CTA* 22 B [=*KTU* 1.22 I] 10) dont l'antiquité est évidente puisque la reine d'Ougarit est appelée *zubultum* dans un texte de Mari[8] et qu'un texte égyptien d'exécration datant de la fin de la XIIème dynastie mentionne un prince dont le nom TB3WHDDI transcrit vraisemblablement ZBL HDD, "Haddou est exalté."[9] Au début de la XVIIIème dy-

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5 Cp. à 1 Rois 8:13: *bêt zĕbul lāk mākôn lĕšibtĕkā.*

6 *Ugaritica V*, 561.

7 *PRU III*, 49 et 196.

8 Découvert par W. von Soden, "Die Fürstin (ZUBULTUM) von Ugarit in Mari," *UF* 4 (1972) 159s. dans deux textes publiés par G. Dossin, "Archives de Sûma-Iamam, Roi de Mari," *RAAO* 64 (1970) 17-44 No. 30:3 et 32:4. On trouvera d'autres références dans H.B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1965) 146s., 186.

9 R. De Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament II* (Gembloux-Paris: de Prouwer, 1945) 479, renvoie à G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie* (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth, 1940) 73 No. E 16.

nastie, *Bn ḏbr* transcrit vraisemblablement *Bin zabūl*.[10] Il ressort de toutes ces données que, s'il n'existe pas de raison majeure pour récuser la traduction habituelle de ZBL qui est "prince," l'idée d'élévation contenue dans la racine *ZBL serait sans doute exprimée de façon plus heureuse par le titre "Altesse."

Dans la Bible on connaît un personnage nommé Zebul (Jg 9:30) dont la fonction de *Śar hā'îr* est peut-être à mettre en relation avec l'idée de suprématie contenue dans le titre *zĕbul*. La prononciation exacte du nom de la reine Jézabel (1 Rois 16:31 etc. ...) n'était certainement pas *'îzĕbel* du T.M. nanti peut-être d'une vocalisation volontairement péjorative évoquant le fumier,[11] mais plutôt *'îzĕbul* "Où est le prince?" phrase interrogative qui peut être identifiée à la question / IY.ZBL.BʿL.ARṢ / que se posaient les fidèles d'Ougarit, lors de la disparition estivale du dieu de la végétation (*CTA* 6 [=*KTU* 1.6 IV 4, 16] IV 29, 40).[12]

Au premier millénaire, on connaît encore un sceau phénicien au nom de YZBL "Il (= La divinité) élèvera"[13] et les anthroponymes BʿL'ZBL et ŠMZBL apparaissent respectivement sur une inscription phénicienne de Tharros et sur une autre de Kition.[14] Une inscription phénicienne de

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10 J. Vercoutter, "L'Egypte et le monde égéen préhellénique Bibliothèque de I," *Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 22 (1956) 45-51 et W.A. Ward, "Notes on Some Semitic Loan-Words and Personal Names," *Orientalia* 32 (1963) 425s.

11 Voir Th.H. Gaster, "Beelzebul," *IDB* 1 (1962) 374.

12 J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan* (VTSup 5; 2ème éd.; Leiden: Brill, 1965) 70s. n. 8 propose d'interpréter le nom de la reine comme une exclamation cultuelle indiquant la saison de sa naissance.

13 N. Avigad, "The Seal of Jezebel," *IEJ* 14 (1964) 274ss.; F. Vattioni, "I sigilli ebraici," *Bib* 50 (1969) 381 No. 215.

14 Voir *KAI* 67:1s.; *KAI* 34:4; voir aussi M.G. Guzzo-Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente* (Studi semitici 28; Rome: Istituto di studi del vicino Oriente, 1967) 103 No. 24. La persis-

Turquie récemment publiée mentionne "le champ du Prince" (ŠD.ZBL).[15]

II. Psaume 49:15: wĕṣyyrām lĕballôt šĕ'ôl mizzĕbul lô

On se bornera ici à proposer, à partir des données exposées plus haut, une explication de la dernière partie de ce verset: *mizzĕbul lô*, depuis longtemps obscure.

Si l'on s'en tient à la ponctuation massorétique, *zĕbul*, séparé de *mi* par le dagesh de son initiale, est bien l'homonyme du *zĕbul* de 1 Rois 8:13, Es 63:15 et Hab 3:11 et *mi* ne peut être alors ici que la préposition exprimant la provenance ou le pronom interrogatif "Qui?." Si le sens prépositionnel de *mi* est évident pour Es 63:15: *mizzĕbul qodšĕkā* "depuis ta hauteur sainte" il ne peut convenir ici à cause de la présence de *lô* "a lui." Il reste donc à interpréter *mi* de Ps 49:15 comme le pronom interrogatif "Qui?." Deux questions surgissent alors: A) la graphie défective de *mi* et B) sa liaison au mot suivant.

A. A Jér 36:11, 13 l'allongement du *–i–* de *Mikāyĕhû* n'est pas noté. A Es 3:15, *mallākem* "Qu'y a–t–il pour vous?" est interprété par le *qĕrê* comme *mâ–lākem*. A Ex 4:2 le T.M. *mazzeh* est compris par le samaritain comme *mâ–zeh*.

B. L'absence de séparation avec le mot suivant peut être observée à Nb 23:10:[16]

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tance de la vocalisation hébraïque apparaît dans le grec *beelzeboul* : Ev. Matthieu 12:27 etc. ....

15 Voir P. Mosca — J. Russel, "A Phoenician Inscription from Cebel Ireis Dağı in Rough Cilicia," *Epigraphica Anatolia* 9 (1987) 1-27; cf. l. 4 A-B.

16 Voir l'état de la question dans H. Rouillard, *La péricope de Balaam (Nombres 22-24) la prose et les "oracles"* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1985) 231s.

mî mānâ ʿăpar yaʿăqōb	Qui a compté la poussière de Jacob
ûmispār ʾet rōbaʿ yiśrāʾēl	Et le nombre des multitudes d'Israël.

Ainsi ont traduit le T.M., le targoum de Ben Ouzziel, la Vulgate et le syriaque, mais la LXX (*kai tis exarithmēsetai*), le targoum samaritain (*wmn mnh*) et le targoum Néophyti (*ʾw mn ykyl mskwm*) proposent une autre solution et il est probable qu'ils ont gardé la trace de ce qui devait être primitivement dans l'hébreu *ûmî sāpar* "et qui a compté?". La vocalisation du T.M. a tranché en faveur du substantif *mispār* "nombre," mais on voit qu'une Vorlage *ûmî sāpar* donnerait un meilleur parallélisme interne et permettrait d'expliquer dans le T.M. le maintien de la particule accusative *ʾet*, dont la présence serait superflue à la suite d'un substantif.

Ces éléments ne parviendraient peut–être à emporter totalement la conviction s'il n'existait à Ps 12:5 *mî ʾādôn lānû* dont la construction est rigoureusement identique à *mizzĕbul lô*. En effet, les deux phrases sont toutes deux composées du pronom interrogatif *mî* + titre + *l* + sufixe, ce qui donne littéralement:

Ps 12:5 *mîʾādônlānû*	Qui est seigneur pour nous?
Ps 49:15 *mîzĕbullô*	Qui est prince pour lui?

On sait qu'à 2 Sam 20:1 et à 1 Rois 12:16 (= 2 Chr 10:16) l'appel à la dissidence est lancé au moyen des formules suivantes:

ʾên lānû ḥēleq bĕdāwid	Il n'y a pas de part pour nous avec David!
mâ lānû ḥēleq bĕdāwid	Quelle part pour nous avec David?

On ne peut pourtant assimiler l'un à l'autre ces deux modes d'expression que sont la question rhétorique et la négation bien qu'en dernière analyse leurs significations soient équivalentes. En hébreu le "*mâ* oratoire" peut être de sens né-

gatif,[17] mais c'est seulement en vertu de la réponse négative contenue dans la question rhétorique. De même en arabe *mā* est négatif, mais c'est le développement ultérieur d'un pronom qui était à l'origine interrogatif.[18]

mizzĕbul lô exprime donc sous forme interrogative l'impuissance de l'homme qui, renonçant à contester la suprématie du Sheol, s'écrie: "Qui est son prince?", exclamation qui appelle la réponse du croyant au verset suivant: *ʾak ʾĕlōhîm yipdeh napšî miyyad šĕʾôl*: "Mais Dieu rachètera ma vie de l'enfer."

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17 P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* (Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1923) 447.

18 C.J. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1966) 16-23; d'autres exemples dans P. Bordreuil, "L'estampille phénicienne d'Ibn Hani 1978," *Syria* 58 (1981) 299.

'O DEATH, WHERE IS THY STING?'

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1 Corinthians 15 has always been a mighty consolation to Christians suddenly confronted with the relentlessness of death. Here the apostle Paul, with the absolute confidence of the truly faithful, triumphantly announces Christ's victory over death, a victory in which ultimately all his followers may share.

However, even if we do not experience any difficulty in sharing the emotional content of Paul's defiant question 'O Death, where is thy sting?' (1 Cor 15:55), it is still the exegete's duty to ask: What exactly do these words mean? What is the 'sting' of death?

According to Paul it is sin, ἁμαρτία (1 Cor 15:56). We are inclined to regard that as an abstract concept, but to Paul it was a personified, demonic power. It 'lives' (Rom 7:9) to work 'death' in people who are subjected to its tyranny (Rom 7:13). Is the 'sting' a demonic power then?

In I Cor 15 Paul uses several elements of the belief in resurrection that became increasingly popular in Palestine during the inter-testamental period. We now know why this belief hardly ever found expression in the canonical books of the Old Testament. It appears to have been one of the fundamental concepts of Baalism.[1] Only when the direct

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[1] K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (AOAT, 219 Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986). The metaphor of the seed in 1 Cor 15:42ff. derives from the so-called 'gardens of Adonis,' originally 'gardens of Adon Baal.' See my book *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (NISABA, Leiden: Brill, 1987) 88–90, 266. Thanks are due to Herman de Vries, Kampen, for his assistance in preparing this study.

threat of a Baalistic syncretism had faded did such ideas become acceptable in wider Jewish circles. Probably very few of those who adopted them realized they were making use of the legacy of pagan Canaan.

This circumstance explains the disagreement between Paul and the Old Testament prophet he quotes in support of two of his key arguments in I Cor 15, the prophet Hosea. In I Cor 15:4 Paul refers to Hos 6:2 when he says that Christ was raised 'on the third day in accordance with the Scriptures.' Hosea, however, was far from accepting the idea of resurrection there. On the contrary, with heavy irony he quotes from the mouth of those who thought they could represent YHWH in Baalistic terms. It was Baal who supposedly revived the dead 'on the third day' when he himself returned from the Nether World. Hosea utterly rejects such a view of YHWH.[2] What had been unacceptable to the Old Testament prophet could be adopted by Paul in the light of the resurrection of Christ.

In I Cor 15:55 Paul is again quoting from the book of Hosea. In this case too the prophet did not mean to pronounce a message of hope. In Hos 13:14 the call

> 'O Death, where are your plagues?
> O Sheol, where is your "sting"?'

is a summons to execute the judgment of YHWH on Ephraim. It is part of a prophecy of doom.

The Hebrew word traditionally translated by 'sting' is *qṭb*. It does not only occur in Hosea, but also in Deut 32:24, Isa 28:2 and Ps 91:6. On the sole basis of the Masoretic text of these passages it cannot be decided whether *qṭb* was a demon or not. However, the Septuagint presupposes a different Hebrew text in Ps 91:6. Instead of MT *mqṭb yšwd ṣhrym* 'for the *qṭb* that devastates (?) at noon-day,' the Septuagint has read *mqṭb wšd ṣhrym* 'for the *qṭb* and the demon of noonday (δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ).'

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[2] Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife* , 272ff.

The word *šd* is attested as a name of a ghost in Babylonian, Ugaritic and Hebrew. This reading of the Septuagint strongly suggests that either the original Hebrew text or at least a very early tradition regarded the *qṭb* as a demon.

This agrees with the mainstream of Jewish interpretation. Targum Onkelos paraphrases Deut 32:24 *wlḥmy ršp wqṭb mryry* as '(those who are like) people eaten by the fowl and afflicted with evil spirits'.[3] It has been demonstrated that Targum Onkelos rests on ancient tradition here because the same interpretation is found in the Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran.[4] The Palestinian Targums have translated *qṭb mryry* by 'people possessed (or puffed up) by evil spirits.'[5] Also the rabbis discussing the meaning of Deut 32:24 in the Babylonian Talmud (bBerakoth, 5a) are convinced that the *qṭb* is an evil spirit. In a Hebrew-Aramaic amulet against demons we find a *qṭb nrqy*[6] which in the opinion of the present writer is best translated as 'the *qṭb* that has been charmed.'[7]

An explicit description of the *qṭb* is found in the Babylonian Talmud, tractate bPesaḥim 111b:

> 'There are two Ḳeṭebs, one before noon and one after noon; the one before noon is called Ḳeṭeb Meriri, and looks like a ladle

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3 A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1959) 1.348; cf. I. Drazin, *Targum Onkelos to Deuteronomy* (New York: KTAV, 1982) 281.

4 J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I* (Rome: Pont. Bibl. Institute, 1966) 56 f., 116f.

5 A. Diez Macho, *Neophyti I. Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana* (Madrid: CSIC, 1978) 5.275; M.L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch* (Rome: Bibl. Inst. Press. (1980) 227. The Targum Pseudo-Jonathan combines Onkelos and the Palestinian Targum and adds 'night-demons,' cf. M. Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Usiel zum Pentateuch)* (Berlin: Calvary, 1903) 359.

6 J. Naveh - S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1984) 56f., 60f.

7 Cf. Arabic *RQY* 'to charm' (Lane, 1140).

> turning in the jug of *ḳamka* (a sauce made of milk and bread-crumbs). That of the afternoon is called Ḳeṭeb Yashud Ẓaharaim ("destruction that wasteth at noon day"); it looks like a goat's horn, and wings compass it about. [...] From the first of Tammuz until the sixteenth they are certainly to be found; henceforth it is doubtful whether they are about or not, and they are found in the shadow of *ḥaẓabe* (a species of shrub) which have not grown a cubit, and in the morning and evening shadows when these are less than a cubit (in length) but mainly in the shadow of a privy.'[8]

Although it is clear that the rabbis try to reconcile the various data from the Old Testament itself, their extra information is certainly interesting. Freedman's translation is not entirely accurate with regard to the description of the *qṭb mryry*. The Talmud reads *wmyḥzy by kd' dkmk' whdr byh bḥš'* 'and it looks like a jug with curdled milk in which a ladle is turning,' or its appearance resembled a whirlpool. This description differs considerably from another account we find in the Midrash on Psalms:

> 'The demon "Bitter Destruction" is covered with scale upon scale and with shaggy hair, and he glares with his one eye, and that eye is in the middle of his heart. He has no power when it is cool in the shade and hot in the sun, but only when it is hot in both shade and sun. He rolls like a ball, and from the seventeenth day in Tammuz to the ninth day in Ab he has power after the fourth hour in the day and up to the ninth hour. And every man who sees him falls upon his face. Hezekiah saw him and fell upon his face. R. Phinehas the Priest bar Ḥama said: I know of a man who saw him and fell flat upon his face and became an epileptic.'[9]

It is no doubt significant that both descriptions of the *qṭb* agree in one respect, viz. the connection between the *qṭb* and extremely hot weather. Its main time of activity is

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8 Translation H. Freedman, in: I. Epstein (ed.), *The Hebrew-English Edition of the Soncino Talmud* (London: Soncino, 1967), Pesahim, fol. 111b.

9 Translation W.G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms* (Yale Judaica Series, XIII, 2; New Haven: Yale, 1959), 2.102f.

thought to fall in summer. According to Ps 91:6 MT the *qṭb* is most harmful at the middle of the day. In Hos 13:15 YHWH sends a hot desert wind which will dry up all the wells. Its arrival seems to be the result of the summons directed to the *qṭb* in v. 14. The scorching desert wind is apparently the sirocco which in Ugarit was thought to be a manifestation of the god of death Motu.[10] The *śʿr qṭb* mentioned in Isa 28:2 also points to a violent, destructive wind. Because it was directed against the 'blossom' of Ephraim (28:1,4) it may well have been the sirocco of spring which is particularly harmful to the blossom of fruit-trees.[11]

Now it would seem possible to confirm all these findings on the basis of a fragmentary passage from the Ugaritic myth which relates how the rain-god Baʿlu (Baal) had to succumb to Motu (Mot, Death):

KTU 1.5 II 20-24

šmḫ . bn ʾilm . mt
[tn .] gḫ . wʾaṣḫ .
ʾik . yiḫn [bʿl .]
[ʾik . ḥd .] yqr .
ʾun [.] ḥd [tṯbr . ydy .]
kp . miḫmy [ršp]
[ʾan . š]lt . qẓb
... (broken)

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10 *AOAT* 16, 173ff., 207, 213, 238. So there is no need to postulate two different demons, as proposed in modern times by A.J. Wensinck, *Semitische Studiën* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1941) 17ff.

11 *AOAT* 16, 175, n.24.

'Motu, the son of Ilu, rejoiced.
[He gave forth] his voice and cried:
"How can [Ba'lu] provide moisture now?[12]
[How can Haddu] sprinkle now?[13]
[My hand will shatter] the strength of Haddu,[14]
the palm of my warrior [Rashpu]![15]
[I myself be]got[16] the Sting,"' ... (broken)

The Ugaritic name of the Sting (*qṣb*) is only a variant of Hebrew *qṭb*.[17] He appears to be a son of Death and of course this brings to mind Job 18:13 *y'kl bdyw bkwr mwt* 'the first-born of Death will devour his limbs.' As in Deut 32:23 this agent of the Nether World is paired with hunger in Job 18:12 *yhy r'b 'nw* 'his strength will become "hungry".' Job 18:13 seems to suggest that the first-born of Death inflicts a deadly skin disease on people. If he would indeed be identical to the *qṭb* this would be an argument in favour of an etymological connection proposed long ago by the Count of Landberg.[18] He compared *qṭb* with modern South-Arabic *qaṭīb* 'smallpox.' This would not contradict in the least our earlier observation that the *qṭb* seems to manifest itself in

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12 When Ba'lu had to be replaced after his 'death' his successor had to be 'one able to give moisture' (*yd' yl̩n*, *KTU* 1.6 I.48).

13 For the Ugaritic verb *QRR* 'to moisten' see *UF* 17 (1986) 220.

14 Ilu fears that Ba'lu's successor will not have the same *'un* 'strength,' *KTU* 1.6:I.50. For the restored phrase see Job 20:10 as well as *KTU* 2.10: 11-13 *w . yd 'ilm . p. k mtm 'z . m'id* 'and the hand of the gods is here because the Great Death [intensive plural of *mt*, meaning pestilence] is very strong.'

15 See note 21 below.

16 S-stem of *YLD*.

17 See Ugaritic *ẓhr* for *ṯhr*, *lẓpn* for *lṯpn*, *ẓẓ* for *ṯṯ*, *pẓr* for *pṯr*. Furthermore D. Freilich - D. Pardee, "{ẓ} and {ṯ} in Ugaritic," *Syria* 61 (1984) 25-36 (with bibliography).

18 Comte de Landberg - K.V. Zetterstéen, *Glossaire Daṭînois* (Leiden: Brill, 1909-1942), 428, 1116, 2505, rediscovered by J. Blau, *VT* 7 (1957) 98.

the sirocco because to this day the sirocco is feared as the cause of all kinds of diseases.[19]

The literal meaning of *qṭb* may well be 'sting' however. The translation of the Septuagint, followed by Paul in 1 Cor 15, argues in favour of this. Arabic *quṭb(ah)* denotes the point of an arrow. In Ps 91:5-6 we find the following external parallelism: *phd lylh* 'the terror of the night' // *dbr b'pl* 'the pestilence in the darkness' next to *ḥṣ y'wp ywmm* 'the arrow that flies by day' // *qṭb wšd ṣhrym* 'the *qṭb* and the demon of noonday' (LXX). So the *qṭb* seems to be equated with an arrow. In Deut 32:23-24 *r'b* 'Hunger,' *ršp* 'Resheph' and *qṭb* are the arrows shot by YHWH. Assuming a slight re-vocalization of the consonantal text we may translate the whole passage as follows:

'I will assemble evils against them,
I will spend my arrows on them:
Hunger, my Sucker,[20]
Resheph, my Warrior,[21]
and the Sting, my Poisonous One.[22]
And I will send the teeth of beasts among them,
with venom of crawling things of the dust.'

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19 *AOAT* 16, 175. Add to the literature cited there *Time Magazine*, June 14 (1971) 52f. A goddess Qatiba, mentioned by A. Caquot, *Semitica* 6 (1956) 67f. and H. Vorlander, *Mein Gott* (AOAT, 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1975) 263, does not exist.

20 A Phoenician amulet from Arslan Tash is headed by *lḥšt lmzh* 'Incantation against the Sucker,' cf. Y. Avishur, *Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible* (Jerusalem: Rubenstein, 1979) 2.267f (in Hebrew).

21 The *kp mlḥmy* [ ] of the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.5 II 23 and the *lḥmy ršp* of Deut 32:24 would seem to explain each other mutually. The former can hardly be anything else than a participle of the D-stem of *LḤM*. Compare also Isa 30:32 *wbmlḥmwt tnwph nlḥm bh* usually translated 'with a brandished arm He will fight with them.' The form *lḥmy* is best taken then as an active participle of the G-stem. Cf. Ps 35:1; 56:2f.

22 Compare Ugaritic *šmrr* 'poisonous' and D. Pardee, "*Merôrâṯ-petanîm*, 'Venom' in Job 20:14," *ZAW* 91 (1979) 401-416.

The warrior-like Resheph was feared because he used to kill people with his 'arrows' (diseases).[23] As we have seen, the Canaanites of Ugarit seem to have regarded Resheph as the right hand of Death.[24] It is certain that they equated him with the Babylonian warrior-god Nergal, lord of the Nether World.[25]

The Sting was indeed a sinister helper of Death and it would seem likely now that the Israelites borrowed this concept from the Canaanites. However, there is one big difference. Whereas to the Canaanites Death and his satellites were dreaded gods always threatening to overpower the forces of life represented by Baal, the Israelite tradition firmly states their total subordination to YHWH. They are nothing but instruments in his hand which He will use only in extra-ordinary circumstances (Deut 32:24; Isa 28:2; Hos 13:14). They are no longer a menace to the faithful servants of YHWH. To them it is said: 'You need not fear the terror of the night, nor the arrow that flies by day, nor the pestilence that stalks in darkness, nor the Sting that devastates (?) at noonday (or, with the LXX: the Sting and the demon of noonday).' 'You need not fear' — Death has already lost its Sting within the Old Testament. In this respect there is no real tension between Paul's message in 1 Corinthians 15 and that of the Old Testament as a whole. Both Testaments are far removed from the original Canaanite background of the Sting of Death. To borrow a phrase once used by Peter Craigie: the words would create a sense of recognition in the ears of Canaanites, but the message focused firmly on the

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23 *KTU* 1.82:3, cf. *UF* 16 (1984) 239. Also Hab 3:5; Ps 78:48; Job 16:13.

24 For the 'hand' of demons and illnesses in Babylonia see *CAD* (Q) 187b-188a.

25 See e.g. P. Xella, "Le dieu Rashap à Ugarit," *Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes* 29/30 (1979-80) 145-162; M. Weinfeld, in: H. Tadmor & M. Weinfeld (eds.), *History, Historiography and Interpretation* (Leiden: Brill, 1984) 128-131.

one true God.[26]

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26 P.C. Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) 79.

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VON HEBRÄISCH *ʿM//LPNY* (Ps 72,5) ZU UGARITISCH *ʿM* "VOR"

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P.C. Craigie hat uns seine reifsten Überlegungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Ugaritisch und Hebräisch in seinem Kommentar zu Ps 1-50 aus dem Jahre 1983 hinterlassen.

In der Einleitung zu diesem Werk widmet er einen Abschnitt von neun Seiten (pp. 48-56) dem Thema "The Psalms and Ugaritic Studies."

Er tritt hierin zu Recht für eine kritische Haltung beim Vergleich ugaritischer und biblischer Texte ein.[1] Zugleich plädiert er uneingeschränkt für "legitimate or worthwhile comparative studies" (p. 55).

Wir werden deshalb im folgenden versuchen, die Arbeit, die er selbst allzu früh aufgeben mußte, in seinem Sinne an einem Einzelpunkt fortzusetzen. Beim Vergleich ugaritischer und biblischer Texte hat man nur im Einzelfall vom Hebräischen her unternommen, Probleme des Ugaritischen aufzuklären. Der Fall einer Textrestitution im Ugaritischen aufgrund von Jer 8,23 dürfte der bekannteste sein.[2] Allgemein wird dagegen die Regel befolgt, daß vom Ugaritischen her philologische cruces des Hebräischen aufzuhellen seien. Im folgenden soll gezeigt werden, daß in Einzelfällen vom Hebräischen her sich auch für das Ugaritische neue Perspektiven eröffnen. Wir wenden uns deshalb anhand von Ps 72,5 dem Problem von *ʿm* im Hebräischen und

[1] O. Loretz, "Die Ugaritistik in der Psalmeninterpretation (II)," *UF* 17 (1985) 213-17.

[2] Siehe zur Diskussion über den Parallelismus *qr//my* in Jer 8,23 und *KTU* 1.16 I 26-28 u.a. O. Loretz, *Mélanges H. Cazelles* (AOAT 212; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1981) 297-99.

Ugaritischen zu. *ʿm* dient ebenso wie seine verwandten Formen in den anderen semitischen Sprachen im Ugaritischen und Hebräischen zur Angabe der Gesellschaft, Gemeinschaft, Begleitung und dergleichen.[3] C. Brockelmann hebt hierbei besonders hervor, daß *ʿm* auch auf die Lage im Raume übertragen wird. Er verweist auf Gen 25,11 (vgl. 35,4; 1 Sam 10,2; 19,38; 20,8) und auf die Gleichzeitigkeit wie *yyrʾwk ʿm šmš*, "dich wird man fürchten, solange die Sonne am Himmel stehen wird" (Ps 72,5). Auch im Aramäischen wird *ʿim/ʿam* auf räumliche Verhältnisse übertragen.[4]

Das von C. Brockelmann angeführte *ʿm* in Ps 72,5 gilt jedoch in den Lexika und Kommentaren als strittig. In *HALAT* 3 wird dieser Beleg unter *ʿm* 3 "gleichzeitig mit" eingeordnet und *ʿm šmš* mit "solange die Sonne scheint" unter Hinweis auf *KTU* 1.17 VI 28 und mittelhebräisch *ʿm* wiedergegeben.[5] F. Zorell kennt ein *ʿm* "de aequalitate sortis = aeque ac...*ʿm šmš* 'tamdiu quam sol' vivat Ps 72,5."[6] Ähnlich wird auch von einem *ʿm* "vergleichbar mit, gleichwie"...f.) v.d. Zeit: gleich lange als:*yyrʾwk ʿm šmš* dich verehrt man so lange die Sonne am Himmel stehen wird Ps 72,5" gesprochen.[7]

In den Kommentaren wird *ʿm šmš* in gleicher Weise interpretiert, wobei die Parallelität *ʿm//lpny* keine Beachtung

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3 Siehe z.B. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (2 Bde.; Berlin: Reuther, 1908-13) 1.498; 2.415-16; K. Aartun, *Die Partikeln des Ugaritischen II* (AOAT 21/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1978) 56.

4 Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, 2.415.

5 *HALAT*[3], 794: *ʿm* 3.

6 F. Zorell, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955) 605: *ʿm* 1b.

7 W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (17 Äuflage; Berlin: Springer, 1915) 595 *ʿm* 1 f.; ebenso BDB, 768, 1 g: "as long as the sun endureth."

findet. H. Gunkel, der anstelle von *yyr'wk* wohl richtig *'rk* hif. liest, übersetzt z.B. ein Trikolon

'solange' die Sonne scheint,
solange der Mond leuchtet
für alle Geschlechter

und begründet seine Übersetzung von *'m* und *lpny* mit einem Verweis auf *'m* in Dan 3,33 und *lpny* in V. 17.[8] Dagegen beharren C.A. Briggs — E.G. Briggs auf einer mehr am Text bleibenden Wiedergabe: "May he (prolong days) with the sun, and before the moon for generations of generations... and before the sun may he be established" (Ps 72,5. 17).[9] F. Delitzsch weist darauf hin, daß *lpny yrḥ* — ähnlich wie *lpny šmš* Hi 8,16 — "angesichts des Mondes" und *lpny šmš* (V. 17) "angesichts der Sonne" bedeuten.[10]

In RSV wird das Bikolon folgendermaßen übersetzt:

May he live while the sun endures,
and as long as the moon,
throughout all generations.

Einen radikalen Bruch mit diesen Übersetzungen hat M. Dahood mit Berufung auf das Ugaritische unternommen. Er übersetzt *'m* mit Verweis auf ugaritisch *'m* in *KTU* 1.17 VI 28-29 mit "like, on a par with, as long as" und *lpny* in V. 5 und 17 mit "be extinguished." Letzteres begründet er folgendermaßen: "Explaining *lpny* as an infinitive construct of *pānāh*, Ar. *faniya* ,[11] 'to pass away, come to an end,' that

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[8] H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (HAT II.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929) 304. 309; ebenso H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen* (BK XV/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1978) 654-55.

[9] C.A. Briggs — E.G. Briggs, *Psalms II* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1907) 131. 134. 137.

[10] F. Delitzsch, *Die Psalmen* (BKAT; Leipzig: Dörflin u. Franke, 1894) 478-79. 481.

[11] H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985) 983: *faniya* "vergehen, untergehen, zunichte werden; ein Ende nehmen" usw.

occurs in Ps xc 9; Jer vi 4, *pānāh hayyōm*, 'The daylight is waning.'"[12]

Er gelangt deshalb zu folgender Übersetzung von Ps 72,5 und 17a:

> May he revere you as long as the sun,
> and till the moon be extinguished —
> ages without end!
> ...
> bear offspring till the sun be extinguished.[13]

Die Übersetzung von *ʿm* mit "as long as" begründet M. Dahood mit ugaritisch *ʿm* in der Formulierung *ašsprk ʿm bʿl šnt*, die er mit "I will make you count years like Baal" übersetzt.[14] Dagegen gibt z.B. K. Aartun *ašsprk ʿm bʿl šnt ʿm bn il tspr yrḫm* mit "ich will dich zählen lassen mit Baʿal Jahre, mit dem Sohne des Il sollst du Monate zählen" wieder.[15]

Weder die Übersetzung von *ʿm* mit "like" noch die mit "mit" vermag deutlich zu machen, wie Jahre und Monate auch für Götter ein Zeitmaßstab sein könnten. Das Zeitmaß des von Sonne und Mond bestimmten Jahres gilt wohl kaum für die Götter, sondern nur für die Menschen.[16]

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12 M. Dahood, *Psalms II* (AB 17; New York: Doubleday, 1968), 180. 181. 185.

13 *Ibid.*, 178-79.

14 *Ibid.*, 180-81; siehe auch *ʿm* "like" M. Dijkstra — J.C. de Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhatu," *UF* 7 (1975) 187; D. Pardee, "The Preposition in Ugaritic,"*UF* 7 (1975) 361, "count like"; derselbe, "The Preposition in Ugaritic," *UF* 8 (1976) 317-18; G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán según la tradición de Ugarit* (Fuentes de la Ciencia Biblica 1; Madrid: Institución San Jerónimo, 1981) 377. 601 (*ʿm* I).

15 Aartun, *Die Partikeln*, 56, betont zugleich, daß *ʿm* = "wie" unbegründet sei; siehe auch P.J. van Zijl, *Baal. A Study of Texts in Connexion with Baal in the Ugaritic Epics* (AOAT 10; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1972) 273-74.

16 Zur Diskussion über Els Epitheton *ab šnm* siehe u.a. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos* , 631 (*šnt* I).

Angesichts der Probleme, die mit *'m* in *KTU* 1.17 VI 28-29 und in Ps 72,5a gegeben sind, stellt sich die Frage, ob nicht doch der Parallelismus *'m//lpny* in Ps 72,5 ernster genommen und zum Ausgangspunkt weiterer Überlegungen gewählt werden sollte.

In Ps 72,5 umschreiben sowohl *'m* als auch *lpny* räumliche Positionen, so daß sich auch hier für *'m* die Bedeutung "bei, vor" ergibt, jedoch keine Zeitangabe[17], und wir zu übersetzen haben:

yyr'wk[18] *'m šmš*	11	'Lange seien deine Tage' vor der Sonne
w lpny[19] *yrḫ dwr dwrym*	16 (12)	und vor dem Mond in alle Geschlechter! (Ps 72,5)

Das *'m šmš* in V. 5b ist somit dem *lpny šmš* in V. 17 dieses Liedes gleichzustellen.

Desgleichen umschreibt auch *'m* in der Rede Anats an Aqhat ein räumliches Verhältnis zwischen Göttern und Mensch:

ašsprk 'm b'l šnt	Ich werde dich zählen lassen vor Baal die Jahre,
'm bn il tspr yrḫm	vor dem Sohne Els wirst du die Monde zählen! (*KTU* 1.17 VI 28-29)

Anat verspricht somit Aqhat, daß er, ohne zu sterben, vor, d.h. im Angesicht Baals leben werde[20], aber wohl

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17 Vgl. Anm. 4.

18 *wy'rykw ymyk*; *BHS*a.

19 Vgl. akk. *maḫar* GN, siehe *CAD M/I*, 106-7: *maḫru* 2.

20 D. Marcus, Review of J.C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*, *JAOS* 93 (1973) 591, übersetzt zwar *KTU* 1.17 VI 28-29 mit "I will make you count years like Baal, like sons of El you will count months," betont aber hierzu folgendes: "But surely the counting of years and months here refers to Anat's promise of immortality for Aqhat that

kaum, daß sich sein Leben wie das Baals jährlich erneuert[21] oder seine Jahre mit Baal gezählt werden sollten.[22]

Von *ʿm* in *KTU* 1.17 VI 28-29 her ergibt sich auch eine Lösung für *ʿm* in *KTU* 1.6 I 50b-52, wo ein *rẓ ʿm* von D. Pardee mit "laufen wie" übersetzt wird.[23] Die Annahme, daß ein Mensch wie Baal laufe, dürfte jedoch in mehrfacher Hinsicht bedenklich sein.

Für den Abschnitt ergibt sich unter der Voraussetzung, daß folgende Kolometrie vorliegt, ein zweimaliges, parallel angeordnetes *ʿm* GN "vor GN."[24]

dq anm l yrẓ (?)	9	Ein Kraftloser kann nicht laufen,
ʿm bʿl l yʿdb[25] *mrḥ*	13	vor Baal vermag er nicht die Lanze anzuschlagen,
ʿm bn dgn ktmsm[26]	12	vor dem Dagan-Sohn liegt er auf den Knien! (*KTU* 1.6 I 50b-51)

Die Formulierungen *ʿm bʿl* und *ʿm bn dgn* sind somit *lpn zbl ym* und *lpn* [*ṯ*]*pṭ nhr* (*KTU* 1.2 III 16) und besonders

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he will live forever, and not that he will take over the alleged duties of Baal to measure the years."

21 Vgl. Dijkstra — de Moor, "Problematical Passages," 187.

22 K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (AOAT 219; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986) 151, "I will let you count with Baal the years, with the sons of El you will count the months."

23 Pardee, "Preposition in Ugaritic," *UF* 7 (1975) 369; derselbe, "Preposition in Ugaritic," *UF* 8 (1976) 317-18.

24 M. Dietrich — O. Loretz, "Ein Spottlied auf ʿAṯtar (KTU 1.6 I 50-52)," *UF* 9 (1977) 330-31.

25 M. Dietrich — O. Loretz, "ʿdb und ʿḏb im Ugaritischen," *UF* 17 (1985) 106.

26 *kms* Gt; *AHW*, S. 431: *kamāsu* II Gt; M. Dietrich — O. Loretz, "Ein Spottlied," 331; J. Huehnergard, "A Dt Stem in Ugaritic?," *UF* 17 (1985) 402, zu tD in *KTU* 1.2 II 54.

dem Wunsch *w urk ym bʿly lpn amn w lpn il mṣrm dt tġrn npš špš mlk rb bʿly* "Und Länge der Tage für meinen Herrn vor dem Angesicht des Amon und vor dem Angesicht der Götter von Ägypten, die fürwahr das Leben der Sonne, des großen Königs, meines Herrn, behüten mögen!" (*KTU* 2.23:20-24) gleichzustellen.

ʿm šmš in Ps 72,5 ist in Parallele zu *lpny yrḫ* sicher als alte poetische Form anzusehen[27], die auf kanaanäische Tradition zurückgeht, wie z.B. die Formel *l ymt špš w yrḫ w nʿmt šnt il* "für die Tage von Sonne und Mond und das Wohlergehen der Jahre Els" (*KTU* 1.108:26-27)[28] zu erkennen gibt. *ʿm* "vor" in *KTU* 1.6 I 51-52; 1.17 VI 28-29 sowie in *ʿm šmš* "vor der Sonne" in Ps 72,5 sind so in Zusammenhang zu sehen. Es erübrigen sich deshalb bei der Interpretation von Ps 72,5 unbegründbare Beweise mit dem Ugaritischen, Arabischen[29] und Hebräischen.[30]

Der Gedanke, das lange Leben des Königs und die Dauer der Dynastie mit dem unveränderlichen Gang der Gestirne zu verbinden, ist nicht nur bei den Hebräern bekannt (Jer 31,34-36; 33,20-21; Ps 89,30. 37-38)[31], sondern auch

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27 Zum Parallelpaar *šmš//yrḫ* siehe S.E. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures* (AOAT 204; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1980) 329; Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures* (AOAT 210; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1984) 547-48.

28 Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies*, 321. 329.

29 Siehe zu Anm. 11-12.

30 Siehe z.B. G. Del Olmo Lete, *Interpretación de la Mitologia Cananea: Estudios de semántica Ugaritica* (Fuentes de la Ciencia Biblica 2; Madrid: Institución San Jerónimo, 1984) 77-78.

31 S.N. Paul, "Psalm 72:5 — A Traditional Blessing for the Long Life of the King," *JNES* 31 (1972) 352-53.

bei den Ägyptern[32] den Bewhohnern Mesopotamiens[33] sowie den Phönikern und Aramäern.[34]

Die mit *ʿm* in Ps 72,5 und in einer Reihe von ugaritischen Stellen gegebenen Schwierigkeiten lassen sich somit beheben, wenn ein *ʿm* "vor, bei" zugelassen wird.

Der Weg vom Hebräischen zum Ugaritischen hat sich hierbei als erfolgreich bewährt.

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32 A Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (Tübingen: Laupp, 1923) 325.

33 *CAD B*, 48: balāṭu 1c; Paul, "Psalm 72:5," 353-54.

34 Paul, "Psalm 72:5," 353-55.

THE LESSON OF PROVERBS 26:23

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"Burning lips and a wicked heart *are like*
a potsherd covered with silver dross."

The above translation, according to the *KJV*, seems straightforward and raises, for the layman perhaps, only two questions: a) what is a potsherd? and b) what is dross? A good dictionary provides a satisfactory answer for both: a) "a piece or fragment of a broken earthen pot" and b) "the scum or refuse matter which is thrown off, or falls from, metals in smelting the ore, or in the process of melting."[1]

Consequently, the interpretation, too, is unproblematic: lips which pronounce affection ("assurances of friendship, sealed by ardent kisses"[2]) may cover up a wicked heart and therefore can be compared to a piece of ceramic covered by silver dross, which gives a silvery appearance to an earthen vessel.

The discovery of the mythic tablets from Ras Shamra,[3] however, has interfered with this straightforward approach. In consequence, the *RSV* has translated:

Like glaze covering an earthen vessel
are smooth lips with an evil heart.[4]

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1 At hand was an old edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary* (Springfield: G. & C. Merriam, 1927).

2 F. Delitzsch, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon* (reprint ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973) 193.

3 In particular, the Aqht-Text (*CTA* 17-19 [=*KTU* 1.17-19]).

4 The translation "glaze" is also found in *Today's English Version*, *NEB*, *JB*, *NIV*, *TEV*; but NOT in the *Jewish Family Bible* (London Edition [revised 1969]; Tel Aviv: Sinai, 1881) nor in R. Young, *Young's*

Derek Kidner — to cite only one commentary among many — explains: "The puzzle of *silver dross* (*AV*, *RV*; ***kesep̄ sîgîm***) has found its probable solution through a text from Ras Shamra, on the basis of which H.L. Ginsberg suggests re–pointing the consonants to read ***k^{e}sap̄sāgîm***: 'like glaze' (cf. *RSV*)."[5] Perhaps the general reader was quite unaware of "the puzzle of silver dross," but since it has entered the arena it must be dealt with.

"The Puzzle of Silver Dross"

There is a connection between the "puzzle of silver dross" and the LXX rendering of "smooth" lips (*leia* — cf. *RSV*) for "burning" lips. The peculiar rendering of this proverb in the LXX ("Silver given with deceit is to be considered an ostrakon: smooth lips cover a grieving/troublesome heart"), may presuppose a clerical error in the Hebrew (though not necessarily given the translation technique of the LXX Proverbs) which changed "burning" (*dōlqîm*) to "smooth" (*ḥălāqîm* — a *daleth*, can, of course, be quite easily changed to a *ḥeth*, by simply adding a vertical stroke). If one rejects "silver dross" in favour of "glaze," the adjective "smooth" seems to suit the simile so much better than "burning."

What reasons were given to argue for the reading "glaze?" In 1945, H.L. Ginsberg[6] identified a Ugaritic word *spsg* with the Hebrew words *ksp sgm* in this verse. Ginsberg claimed that Ugaritic *spsg* means "glaze" and

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Literal Translation of the Holy Bible (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1898).

5 D. Kidner, *The Proverbs* (The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries; Downer's Grove: InterVarsity, 1964) 164.

6 H.L. Ginsberg, "The North–Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat," *BASOR* 98 (1945) 21 n. 55.

translated the Ugaritic passage in the Aqhat–Text[7] as follows:

> Glaze will be poured on my head
> Plaster upon my pate.

Ginsberg's easy identification of Ugaritic *spsg* with Hebrew *ksp sgm* was not immediately accepted. L. Köhler[8] stated that the Ugaritic evidence could not change the fact "1. that Heb. *sīg* meant 'refuse' and therefore 'silver–leaf' [or silver dross, oxide of lead] and 2. that silver–leaf was used for glazing."[9]

But Köhler's argumentation was devastated by a rather casual remark of G.R. Driver:

> The idea that *kesep sîgîm* means spuma argenti, ... monoxide of lead, which is still used for glazing earthenware in Palestine (Delitzsch), is untenable; for recent research has shown this to have been a ... late discovery in the Middle East ...[10]

For this remark Driver had found documentation in the work by A. Lucas on Egyptian industries which stated:

> For pottery, the glaze is either a lead glaze or a salt glaze, both of which were used in Egypt after the Arab conquest, but so far as can be ascertained, not before that time.[11]

Thus Driver's point, viz. that lead glazing was used after the 7th century A.D. and unknown in Palestine around 1000 B.C., was accepted, could not be refuted, and future versions of the OT changed "silver dross" to "glaze."[12]

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7 *CTA* 17 VI 36-37 [=*KTU* 1.17 VI 36-37].

8 L. Köhler, "Alttestamentliche Wortforschung — Sīg, sīgīm = Bleiglätte," *TZ* 3 (1947) 232-34.

9 My translation of "1. dass hebräisch *sīg* 'Abgang, Abfall' und darum 'Bleiglätte' bedeutet, und 2. dass Bleiglätte zur Glasur verwendet wird."

10 G.R. Driver, "Problems in the Hebrew Text of Proverbs," *Bib* 32 (1951) 191.

11 A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (2d ed.; London: E. Arnold, 1934 / 3d ed.; London: E. Arnold, 1948).

12 Some exceptions pointed out in n. 4 above.

Yet, two reasons raised suspicions and did not allow the matter to rest there: first, the translation of Ugaritic *spsg* as suggested by Ginsberg is uncertain, if not incorrect; second, to use Driver's words, "recent research has shown" a different picture regarding the origin and use of glazing.

Ugaritic spsg

If one accepts *spsg* to mean "glaze,"[13] the passage in the Aqhat–Text, viz. *CTA* 17 VI 36-37 [=*KTU* 1.17 VI 36-37], makes little sense within its context. Aqhat refuses the offer of immortality by the goddess Anat, telling her that she should not lie to him, asking her what the fate is of every human being, and concluding that he, as a mortal, will surely die. To argue with Driver *et al.* that *spsg* indicates old age or with Ginsberg that it intimates a method of burial, avoids the crux of this passage which is NOT about youth and old age or about the burial of a criminal,[14] but about immortality and death, about resurrection and remaining dead in the tomb.

Consequently, the translation of *spsg* as "glaze" is not adequate. I have suggested that "(glass–) bowl of fluid clay" is the better and more meaningful translation.[15] To arrive at this meaning, I treated the word *spsg* as a compound noun — comparable to *blmt*, "immortality," lit. "without death," in *CTA* 17 VI 27 [=*KTU* 1.17 VI 27]. The first part, *sp*,

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13 As still maintained by M. Dijkstra and J.C. de Moor in their joint–article, "Problematic Passages in the Legend of Aqhatu," *UF* 7 (1975) 190.

14 W.F. Albright has indicated that the smearing of hot asphalt over the head of a criminal was an act of punishment in Mesopotamia, "The 'Natural Force' of Moses in the Light of Ugaritic," *BASOR* 94 (1944) 33 n.19.

15 My "THE AQHT-TEXT: A New Transliteration, Translation, Commentary, and Introduction" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation; University of Cambridge, England, 1976) 266 ff.

causes no difficulties: it is a well–attested Ugaritic word[16] with corresponding words in Hebrew (*sap*), Phoenician (*sp* I), and Akkadian (*sappu* I) meaning "basin, bowl."

The second part of this compound noun, *sg*, does not occur in the Ugaritic literature separately, but the following correspondences are helpful: Hebrew *sîg* "oxide of lead, silver–leaf" (*sîg* "excrement" is related, viz. "that which is removed"); Arabic *sawj* (root: *swj*) "a preparation of clay, [app. made into a sort of ooze, and] cooked; with which the weaver does cover [i.e. dresses] the warps of the web."[17] Albright[18] pointed to a Hittite cognate *zapzaga* (for which he used a secondary meaning "glazed").[19]

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16 Gordon (*UT*, 1792) pointed out that there are variants in the spelling of *spsg*, viz. *sb?sg* (*PRU II*, 112:14 [=*KTU* 4.205:14]) and *s psg* (*PRU II*, 106:8 [=*KTU* 4.182:8]), calling the word "Non Semitic."

However, the equation of *spsg* (in the Aqhat-Text) with the *s/ṡ b/p s/ṡ g* (*PRU II*) is contextually and epigraphically more than doubtful:

a) tablets No. 106 [=*KTU* 4.182] and 112 [=*KTU* 4.205] contain each a list of the distribution of garments (how does "white glaze" or "glazing" fit into these lists?);

b) tablet No. 106:8 [=*KTU* 4.182:8] has a broken–off left margin and the transcription merely shows *pṡg* ; tablet No. 112:14 [=*KTU* 1.182:14] gives no context due to mutilations and the letter *b* is questionable because only two small vertical wedges are identifiable (hence they may represent *ṣ*).

All this makes me wonder if *sbsg* (if this is correct) and *spsg* (if correctly restored) may not, in these garment lists, refer to Akkadian *sābu*, "Bierbrauer, Schankwirt," and Akkadian *sāgu* I / *sāgu* II "Schurz" and therefore, as a rare compound noun, designate the "apron of a brewer / publican."

17 E.W. Lane, *An Arabic–English Lexicon 1/4* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1865) 1460.

18 W.F. Albright, "A New Hebrew Word for 'Glaze' in Proverbs 26:23," *BASOR* 98 (1945) 24-25.

19 Listed by J. Friedrich in his *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1952) 260 as "*zapzagai–* (*zapzaki–*, *zapziki–*) n. 'Glas (als Material und Gefäss); Glasschüssel.' Unter diesem Ansatz lassen sich die Bedeutungen 'glasur' (Albright ...) und 'kostbare Schale' (Goetze, *JCS* 1,

Consequently, I have suggested to translate *spsg* as "a (glass–) bowl (of fluid clay)," thus indicating both possibilities, viz. *spsg* as a foreign word with a Hittite equivalent (a bowl of glass) and *spsg* as a Semitic compound noun (a bowl of fluid clay).[20]

This meaning must be tested within the context of the occurrence of *spsg* in *CTA* 17 VI 36-37 [*KTU* 1.17 VI 36-37]. The first line, now, would read:

A (glass–)bowl (of fluid clay) will be poured on my head.

The parallel word in the second line is *ḫrṣ*, which was translated by Ginsberg as "plaster" (though marked uncertain). He connected it with Arabic *ḫurḍ*, "potash, quicklime."[21] However, *ḫurḍ* is listed by E.W. Lane[22] only as "glasswort" (which cannot be "poured"). Therefore, I suggest that it be compared with Akkadian *ḫarṣu*, "a kind of oil," used for anointing and libations.[23]

Now the two lines in the Aqhat–Text read:

A (glass–)bowl (of fluid clay) will be poured on my head,
Oil over my scalp.

311-15) wohl miteinander in Einklang bringen ... Wanderwort unbekannter Herkunft ebenso wie ugar. *spsg* 'flüssiges Glas' ...." It is interesting to note that Friedrich treats Ugaritic *spsg* as meaning "fluid glass" — a possible alternative to the usually accepted "glaze."

20 Is it a coincidence that the same translation was suggested by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartin ("Die angebliche ug.–he. Parallel *spsg // sps(j)g(jm)*," *UF* 8 [1976] 39) after my dissertation had been received (on or before July 15, 1976, according to his letter to me) and evaluated by Professor Loretz for publication with the Neukirchener Verlag (an unauthorized copy was made of my MS which has become part of the Münster archives — according to scholars visiting the Münster archives)? The article makes no reference at all to my work in this area.

21 Ginsberg, "North–Canaanite Myth," 22 n. 58.

22 Lane, *Lexicon 1/2*, 548.

23 Goetze, "Ugaritic *mžrǧl*," 315.

The Origin and Use of Glazing

G.R. Driver used either the 1934 or 1948 edition of Lucas' *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, as pointed out above, from which he derived his claim that lead–glazing was a process "used in Egypt after the Arab conquest." However, in 1962 Lucas' work underwent a revision by J.R. Harris (4th edition) which presents a very different picture:

1. Lucas admits that "as to the date of the first use [in Egypt?] of a lead glaze on any base there is a considerable difference of opinion" and quotes one authority (Harrison) who states that " ... lead glaze was known in Mesopotamia at any rate as early as 600 B.C."[24]

This date for Mesopotamia is considerably earlier than the date for Egypt, though too late to be incorporated in the Book of Proverbs, especially since Prov 26:23 belongs to the collection of Solomonic proverbs assembled by the Men of Hezekiah.[25]

2. Lucas gives an example of lead glaze[26] used on faience from the Twenty-second dynasty (950-730 B.C.).

With the latter evidence, the date for lead–glazing in Egypt is advanced by at least 1300 years (i.e. from Driver's 600 A.D. to revised Lucas' 700 B.C.), if not 1600 years (600 A.D. to 950 B.C.), thus entering the Solomonic era.

3. Lucas, moreover, cites the study of Stone / Thomas (p. 464, n. 2) in which the authors have argued against the generally held view that glazing originated in Egypt. They also demonstrated that glazing made its first appearance "in northern Mesopotamia during the fifth millennium B.C.," from where it was exported southward and to Egypt.

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24 A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4th ed., revised by J.R. Harris; London: E. Arnold, 1962) 166.

25 Prov 25:1.

26 Lucas, *Materials and Industries* (4th ed.), 167.

As our concern in this paper is not Egypt but Palestine, and as, even for Egypt, the date for lead–glazing has been advanced to the Twenty-Second Dynasty, and as this method was exported from northern Mesopotamia (for which one must allow perhaps a century), we have very good reason to consider the high probability that lead–glazing was known in Solomon's time.

Conclusion

The conclusion drawn from the above evidence is inescapable: the Hebrew term *kesep sîgîm* means, indeed, *spuma argenti*, i.e. monoxide of lead, or, silver dross, silver–leaf.

The Ginsberg solution to the "puzzle of silver dross" must be rejected, as there is no evidence in Ugaritic for the translation "glaze." Furthermore, the Hebrew term makes good sense linguistically and scientifically.

Having rejected the translation "glaze," it is relatively easy to determine that the meaning "burning" (MT) is more appropriate for the adjective in question than "smooth" (LXX), considering the context:

a) the use of "fire"–terminology (v 18: "throws firebrands"; v 20: "the fire goes out"; v 21: "burning coals" — "fire") to describe via the "fire"–metaphor deception, kindling strife, spreading rumours;

b) the use of the words "lips" and "heart" in vv 24 and 25 (v 24 uses the word "lips" plus a synonym for "heart," viz. "within him," and v 25 uses a synonym for "lips," viz. "speak pleasantly," plus the word "heart"; whereby vv 24-25 serves as an explanation for "burning lips" and "evil heart.")[27]

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[27] The following arrangement of vv 23-25 makes this stylistic structure clear:

where the lips are said to "misconstrue" as they speak "pleasantly" and the heart is filled with deceit and abominations.

V 23 is seen, therefore, to compare an expensive–looking covering of a broken, worthless piece of pottery with pleasantly deceiving lips covering a worthless, evil heart. In fact, then, the interpretation of this verse has not been affected by the translation–change.

Nevertheless, an important insight has been gained: great caution must be exercised when the temptation arises to change the Hebrew text to accommodate a Ugaritic word, especially if its meaning is debatable, even if the change is accomplished merely by a re–pointing of the Hebrew.

Peter Craigie was an outstanding scholar who practised this cautious approach. His publications are examples of wise counsel and careful analysis, taking full account of the latest research and the most recent developments in the field, yet not accepting too quickly the so–called evidence of relatively recent discoveries which require the tedious, time–consuming, often frustrating process of scholarly debate and exchange of translational and interpretational ideas. His creative genius was evident not in fantastic flights of fancy but in the solid searching and sifting of the sources. I admired Peter Craigie for his expertise, his gentle kindness, his wit, his love for the Lord Jesus Christ, and his enthusiasm for BMW motorbikes. This contribution is but a feeble expression of my gratitude to his interest and influence in my life.

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23 Silverdross covering a potsherd:
Burning *lips* and / with an evil HEART.

24 With his *lips* one who hates misconstrues
And INSIDE him he harbours deception.

25 When he uses pleasantly his *voice*, don't trust him
For seven abominations are in his HEART.

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UGARITIC *RBT / RABĪTU*

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Peter Craigie was a cultivated scholar who rendered a unique service to Ugaritology through his *Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies*. His writing and genial personality have earned him a place in scholarship and in our hearts. These pages are a token tribute to his memory and an expression of respect for an esteemed colleague snatched from us before his time.

Translations are necessary and useful but all too often deceptive. For example, we render ***rbt aṯrt ym*** as "Lady Asherah of the Sea" knowing that she is the wife of El, the venerable head of the Pantheon. But, whereas, he is called ***mlk*** "king," she is never called ***mlkt*** "queen," but rather ***rbt*** "great lady." The fact is that while the title for the supreme ruler is ***mlk*** "king," the chief lady in the realm was not the "queen" in any European sense, but the one consort in the harem of the king who was entitled to bear the crown prince who would succeed to the throne. It was, in a sense, after the death of her kingly husband that she came into her own as the revered queen–mother. The pinnacle of status for a woman in the royal harem was to be designated the ***rbt / rabitu*** with the legal contractual right to bear her royal husband's successor.

At Ugarit, accordingly, the king (***mlk***) does not refer to his wife but to his mother as the ***mlkt*** in *UT* 117:1-6 [=*KTU* 2.13:1-6]: *l.* ***mlkt*** (2) ***umy.rgm*** (3) ***tḫm.mlk*** (4) ***bnk***. (5) *l.* ***pʿn.umy*** (6) ***qlt***. "to the Queen, my Mother, speak! The message of the King, thy son. At the feet of my Mother I bow down ..."

There is a notorious dossier of syllabic tablets from Ugarit about the ill–starred marriage of King Amistamru II to his Rabitu. The latter was the foreign princess, Piddu, sister of King Shaushgamuwa of Amurru whose diplomatic marriage to Amistamru II of Ugarit was approved and formalized by the Hittite emperor Tudhaliya IV; for both Ugarit and Amurru were vassal states in the Hittite alliance. A son of the Rabitu was to succeed Amistamru, but she committed a "sin" against her husband and took refuge with her own family in her native land of Amurru. The nature of her "sin" is not stated in the tablets and scholars have speculated that it was adultery. It may, however (with or without adultery), have been a dynastic plot, in which she was involved, that enraged her husband. In passing, we must note the parallel to the Helen of Troy motif, to the extent that international hostilities are brought to a head by a royal lady's leaving her kingly husband, staying in a foreign palace, and thereby making her return a point of honour.

Amistamru's estrangement from his Rabitu forced her to take refuge in Amurru with her family which was headed by King Shaushgamuwa. To appease Amistamru, Shaushgamuwa forbade his sister to live in the royal Amurru palace, but he would not extradite her to Ugarit. Meanwhile Tudhaliya IV regulated Amistamru's divorce from Piddu. Her son Utrisharruma was to be his crown prince (*tartenu* "second in command") of Ugarit, provided that he did not follow his mother. Also, in the event of Amistamru's death (presumably during the boyhood of Utrisharruma), she was to exercise the regency (SAL–LUGAL–*ut–ti*; cf. Athaliah's role of *moleket* "regent" in 2 Kgs 11:3).

Amistamru was not satisfied with anything short of blood, and since he could not get at the person of the Rabitu, he wanted her daughter surrendered to him.[1]

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[1] The punishment of children for the sins of their parents was not unusual. Even the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:5; Deut 5:9) attributes to God the visiting of the sins of ancestors on their descendants down to the third and fourth generations (while rewarding the descendants of the righteous for thousands of generations). It was Ezekiel (e.g. 14:12-20;

Shaushgamuwa agreed not to attack the ships and troops that would come to deliver the Rabitu's daughter to Ugarit to be killed. Shaushgamuwa delivered his niece to the vengeful brother–in–law for 1000 (var. 1400) shekels of gold. The payment of this blood money was to preclude further feuding, and if the Rabitu's sons filed any suits in the future, they were to share the girl's fate by being delivered into the hands of Amistamru for execution.

That *rbt / rabitu* also means "queen–mother(–to–be)" in the mythological tablets is illustrated in *UT* 49 I 15-18 [=*KTU* 1.6 I 43-46]. Baal, the king (*mlk*) of the gods, has perished so that a new king is to be appointed. El, the head of the pantheon,[2] must set in motion the process, but the choice is limited to the son of his *rabitu* Asherah: *gm yṣḥ.il* (16) *lrbt aṯrt ym.šmʿ* (17) *lrbt a[ṯrt] ym. tn* (18) *aḥd b.bnk wamlkn* "El shouts aloud to the Rabitu, Asherah of the Sea: 'Hear, O Rabitu Asherah of the Sea! Give one of thy sons so that I may make him king.'" Asherah proceeds to submit the name of one of her sons whom El rules out as

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33:12-20; etc.) who categorically and repeatedly rejected this principle and insisted on each person's being rewarded or punished on his own record. The punitive death of the child, conceived by Bath–sheba through adultery with David (2 Sam 12: 13-14), might suggest that Piddu's daughter was killed because she was thought to be a child of adultery. On the other hand, Hammurapi's Code calls for the death of a builder's son, if a building caves in and kills the occupant's son. The builder's son, though guiltless, pays with his life for the "sin" of the father.

2 El is called mlk "king" (*UT* 49 I 8 [=*KTU* 1.6 I 36]; 51 IV 24 [=*KTU* 1.4 IV 24]; 2 Aqht VI 49 [=*KTU* 1.17 VI 49]) and so is Baal. The apparent contradiction has to do with the older generation of the gods (headed by El and Asherah) vis–à–vis the younger more active gods (headed by Baal and Anath). The older generation retains seniority and authority, while the younger deities are more aggressive and colorful. It is a tendency in the history of religion for the younger gods to make encroachments against the older ones and often to take over. Ouranos gave way to his son Kronos, and the latter to his own son, Zeus. Christianity also illustrates how God's Son can emerge to occupy a central position.

incompetent. So Asherah nominates another one of her sons who becomes king of the gods.

It is to be noted that the successor to the throne must be a son of the Rabitu (=Asherah), subject to the approval of the Rabitu's royal husband who has advisory and veto power as to which one of her sons shall rule.

This institution is operative in the biblical accounts of Israel and Judah. No royal wife in those kingdoms is ever called *malkah* "queen." In 1 Kgs 10:1, 4 etc., the Queen of Sheba is called *malkah* for she was actually the ruler of Sheba in accordance with old Arabian institutions. In the Scroll of Esther (5:2, 3 etc.) Esther's title is *malkah* "queen" in the sense that she was the king's favourite in the royal harem, whom he officially crowned as queen (2:17) in accordance with Achaemenian custom. In the romantic poetry of the Song of Songs (6:8) the harem women are in three categories; the royal lover has sixty *melakot* ("queens" = first–class consorts), eighty *pilagšim* ("concubines") and countless *'alamot* ("girls"). But in the historic records concerning the ladies of the royal courts in Israel and Judah, no one is ever called a *malkah* "queen."

Instead, the ambitious women in the royal harem aimed at becoming *gebirah*: the mother of the crown prince, so that she eventually would be the queen–mother.

Jeremiah (13:8) is commanded to inform the chief man and woman of the realm thus: "Speak to the *melek* and *gebirah*" (not *malkah* "queen").

In introducing the reign of a Judean king the two personages regularly singled out are the king and his mother. For example, "Rehoboam, son of Solomon, became king in Judah ... and the name of his mother was Naamah the Ammonite" (1 Kgs 14:21). There is no mention of any queen or wife of Rehoboam. Or again, "Asa became King of Judah ... and the name of his mother was Maacah the

daughter of Absalom" (1 Kgs 15:1-2).[3] The queen–mother was called the *gebirah*. Because of Maacah's idolatrous practices, Asa stripped from her the status of *Gebirah* (1 Kgs 15:13).

When Johoiachin was exiled to Babylonia, the woman singled out in his entourage is not a wife of his, but the *Gebirah*, the queen–mother (Jer 29:1).

In the case of the Israelite princess Athaliah who served as regent of Judah after the death of her son, Ahaziah, King of Judah, her role is that of *moleket* "regent" (not *malkah* "queen"); see 2 Kgs 11:3.

While there are bound to be variations on the theme among the different nations in the ancient Near East, what we have said of the absence of "queens" in Israel and Judah holds *mutatis mutandis*, in some of the other near East courts.

In hieroglyphic Egyptian there is no word for "queen." The wife of the pharaoh was his *ḥm·t* "wife." The chief woman in his harem was his *ḥm·t wr·t* "great wife." 1 Kgs 11:19 narrates that the Pharaoh gave the sister of his chief wife Tahpenes as spouse to the Edomite prince Hadad. Tahpenes is called by her title *gebirah*. The Hebrew author thus reflects that Egypt, like Israel, had no *malkah* "queen" but, instead a chief wife designated to bear the crown prince.

The internal evidence, both alphabetic and syllabic, from Ugarit, fits into the broad regional institutions of the ancient Near East. "Queen" (in the English sense of the word) must not be confused with the institution of the Rabitu / Gebirah. The general failure to understand the role of "Gebirah" is illustrated in one of the greatest biblical commentaries, J.A. Montgomery's *Kings* in the International Commentary Series (posthumously published after careful revision by

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[3] Other cases are 1 Kgs 14:31, 22:41; 2 Kgs 8:26, 12:2, 14:2, 15:2, 15:32-33, 18:1-2, 21:19, 22:1, 23:36, 24:8, 24:18. (An exception is 2 Kgs 16:2 which omits Ahaz's mother.)

H.S. Gehman) on p.240: "The word for 'queen' here is the unusual 'Mistress' [i.e. *gebirah*], otherwise used for queen–mother" (cf. also p. 409).

The broad outlines of Ugaritology have been established during the nearly six decades since the first alphabetic tablets were unearthed in 1929. The long road ahead is the task of refinement in detail.

THE BIRTH ANNOUNCEMENT[1]

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In biblical scholarship the term "birth announcement" has come to be used for those passages in which God or a representative of God announces, usually to a childless woman, that she will bear a child. Such passages constitute one of the motifs uniting the Old and New Testaments of the Christian Bible, extending from Genesis to the Gospel according to St. Luke.

In this paper, however, the term is used with the same meaning as in ordinary English parlance, namely, to refer to an announcement of a birth that has recently taken place. A birth announcement today generally refers to a written or printed card distributed after a birth by the parents. While the precise form of the text varies from card to card, certain elements are constant. The text will include the names of the parents and the sex, name and weight (and often length) of the new child, together with the birth date.

It is desirable to distinguish announcements of births after the fact from announcements of births before the fact. This may readily be accomplished by reserving the term "birth announcement" for the former, consistent with its usage in ordinary speech; and employing for the latter the older term "annunciation," regularly used in the Christian tradition for the announcement to Mary that she would conceive and bear a son who would be the Messiah, but also sometimes by extension to all such divine or angelic announcements of a future birth.[2]

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[1] An early version of this paper was presented to the Old Testament Professors' Colloquium of the Boston Theological Institute in December, 1984.

[2] E.g. in R. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah* (Garden City, New

Hebrew and Ugaritic literature contain several announcements of a recent birth. From them it is possible to infer the characteristic form and circumstances of such announcements. Recognition of the traditional birth announcement in those societies will allow a nicer appreciation of the form in which it appears and the uses to which it is put in Ugaritic literature and the Hebrew Bible — and also in the New Testament.

Jer 20:15 is part of a personal lament in which the speaker first curses the day he was born (v 14) and then the man who reported his birth to his father (v 15). The MT of v 15a reads:

'arûr hā'îš 'ăšer biśśar 'et-'ābî lē'mōr yullad-lĕkā bēn zākār

Cursed be the man who announced to my father:[3] "A male son has been born to you."

The announcement consists of a third person passive form of the verb *yld*; the preposition *l* with a pronominal suffix referring to the father (here the addressee, hence the second person suffix); and the noun *bēn*, the subject of the passive verb. Following *bēn*, the additional word, *zākār*, seems tautologous ("a male son"). It may have been included for reasons of versification or rhythmic euphony; or to emphasize the grounds for rejoicing (see below), which would add to the irony in this context. As we shall see, there is nothing corresponding to this element in the other examples of the birth announcement, which confirms an

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York: Doubleday, 1979).

[3] Holladay thinks that a woman would have performed this task. To eliminate the male messenger, he revocalizes the verb *biśśar* as a passive, *buśśar*, thus referring "the man" to the newly born Jeremiah, and leaving the agent of the announcement undefined. See William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah1* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986) 560-63. If it is likely that a women brought the news out of the place where parturition occurred (cf. the table in J.M. Sasson, *Ruth*. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University, 1979) 730), it is equally probable that she gave her report to a male servant, who in turn brought it to the father.

interpretation that assigns it a special function here.[4]

At the beginning of column II of the first tablet of the Ugaritic poem *Aqht*, someone is announcing to Danel that El is granting him a son. The text goes on to describe Danel's physical reaction to this news, and then his verbal reaction. The speech, beginning with Danel's expression of relief, continues with the reason for his relief: *kyld bn ly km aḫy // wšrš km aryy* ("For a son has been born to me as (to) my brothers // and an offspring as (to) my peers") (*KTU* 1.17 II 14-15). The nucleus of this bicolon is the verbal sentence: *yld bn ly* "a son has been born to me." Like the Hebrew clause just described, this sentence too consists of a third person passive form of the verb *yld*; the preposition *l* with a pronominal suffix referring to the father; and the noun *bn* as subject of the passive verb. However, it differs in three ways from the Hebrew text.

First, the subject precedes the preposition and suffix. But this corresponds to the word order found by G.H. Wilson to be standard in his investigation of word order in *Krt*.[5] It also appears to be required by the structure of the bicolon. *km aḫy* now modifies the immediately preceding *ly*, thus comparing Danel with his "brothers." Had *ly* preceded *bn*, *km aḫy* might have been misconstrued as modifying the immediately preceding *bn*, thus suggesting a comparison of Danel's son with his brothers.

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4 Holladay has attempted to remove the tautology by construing *zākār* as part of the following colon (*śammēaḥ šimmŏḥāhû*) and thus parallel to *ben*. He then translates the last three words of the verse: "a male (who) did delight him"; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 560, 564. But the resulting parallelism of a second person reference in a quotation (*l^ekā*) and a third person reference outside the quotation (*-hû*) is awkward. The Masoretes are surely correct in placing the major break in the verse after *zākār*. "The man" at the beginning of the verse is the subject of the relative clause that ends at the *'atnāḥ*; and is then also the subject of the following colon: "(and who) brought him great happiness."

5 See G.H. Wilson, "Ugaritic Word Order and Sentence Structure in Krt," *JSS* 27 (1982) 17-32.

Second, the Ugaritic sentence differs from the Hebrew in using the first person, rather than the second person suffix. But this corresponds to a change in speaker. Whereas the Hebrew text records the announcement made to the father, the Ugaritic text records the father's delighted response, repeating the same words, but transposing the second person pronoun into the first person to refer to himself. In both cases the pronoun refers to the father as the primary beneficiary of the birth.

Third, the saying follows a divine announcement to Danel that he will have a son, and precedes the conception and birth of the son. It is thus proleptic.[6] (This is the one case in which the birth announcement after the fact is certainly used before the fact — that is, as an annunciation.)[7]

A third form is represented in Isa 9:5:

kî-yeled yullad-lānû For a boy has been born to us

bēn nittan-lānû A son has been given to us

Here, the poet has more freely adapted the saying to poetic forms and aims. The noun *bēn* has been replaced by *yeled* in the first colon, and the verb *yld* has been replaced by *ntn* in the second, thus producing the paronomasia *yeled yullad* in the first and the assonance *bēn nittan* in the second. But behind the poetic bicolon the same basic form can be discerned — in this case: *bēn yullad lānû* "a son has

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6 Hence the future reference in the translations of J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1977) 105 and G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1981) 372. The verb may be not in the suffixing, but in the prefixing conjugation, like the immediately preceding verbs in Danel's speech (see below). However, the other occurrences of the formula discussed in this paper tend to favor the interpretation of van Selms: "in his joy Dnil regards the promise as an accomplished fact"; A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (Pretoria Oriental Series 1; London: Luzac, 1954) 86.

7 Further exploration of the relations between this bicolon and similar bicola earlier in *Aqht* and also in *B'l* will appear in my study of *Aqht* and *Krt* (in preparation).

been born to us." (There is no explicit reference to the act of birth in the collocation of the other noun and the other verb in Isa 8:18 — *wĕhaylādîm ʾăšer nātan-lî YHWH* "and the boys whom Yahweh has given me.") The word order is different again from that in Jeremiah and the Ugaritic passage: the nominal subject is placed now before the verb. But this is in conformity with one of the most common arrangements used in the prophets for bicola consisting of subject, verb and modifier.[8]

Here the prophet makes the announcement to, and claims the child for the larger community, replacing the second and first person singular pronominal suffixes of the preceding examples with first person plural suffixes. The community replaces the father as the primary beneficiary of the birth. According to Wildberger, this reflects the announcement of the birth of a new prince, made first to the court, and then to the larger public of Jerusalem or even Judah. In other words, the prophet imitates the proclamation that the Jerusalem court would make after the birth of a royal heir in order publicly to designate him the official heir.[9]

The traditional character of the birth announcement perceptible behind Isa 9:5aα lends further support to Wildberger's arguments against Alt's interpretation of the line as referring to Yahweh's adoption of the king at a coronation.[10] As tradition always assumed, the verse refers to the birth of a child. But Wildberger is doubtless also correct in seeing that while the perfects of the preceding verbs are prophetic, promising the deliverance from military

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8 See T. Collins, *Line Forms in Hebrew Poetry* (Studia Pohl: Series Major; Rome: PBI, 1978).

9 H. Wildberger, *Jesaja* (BKAT 10/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972) 379-80. Wildberger does not make the connection with the ultimate source in the common birth announcement.

10 Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 377; see A. Alt, "Jesaja 8,23-9,6 Befreiungsnacht und Krönungstag," *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1950) 29-49 = *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* Vol. 2 (München: Beck, 1953) 206-25; followed by O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12* (London: SCM, 1972) 128.

might portrayed in verses 3 and 4, the perfects of verse 5a refer to an event already past, serving as a sign and guarantee of that future liberation.[11] Thus while the *kî's* in verses 3 and 4 explain the rejoicing of verse 1 by referring to Yahweh's future deliverance, the *kî* of v 5 gives ground for hope in that deliverance by introducing an event that has taken place already: the birth of a new ruler. The past reference of the birth announcement of Isa 9:5 contrasts with the future reference of the annunciation in Isa 7:14 (where the annunciation is found, not in its normal literary setting in a narrative, but in an oracle addressed to the king for whom the announced birth has special significance).

When a child is born to Ruth and Boaz in Ruth 4:13, Naomi's neighbours congratulate her (4:14-15), she becomes the child's nurse (4:16), and the neighbours say: *yullad-bēn lᵉnoʿŏmî* "A son has been born to Naomi" (4:17a). Naomi is of course not the natural mother, but the larger context is concerned precisely with the means of producing a substitute son for Naomi, whose husband and sons have all died. The use of this saying here indicates that the narrator regards Naomi's loss of her children at the beginning of the story as reversed — she has now once again acquired a child (cf. especially v 15a).[12]

The word order agrees with that of the Ugaritic text, but here it is not the product of poetic constraints but an example of normal Hebrew word order.[13] The form of the saying is

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11 Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 370, 377.

12 However, the present study makes clear that the saying in v 17 is not a part of the act of adoption, as seems to be implied by G. Gerleman, *Ruth. Das Hohelied* (BKAT 18; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965) 37-38.

13 Eissfeldt claimed that there is here an emphasis on the noun *bēn*, which serves to explain the proper name that is immediately given to the child: *ʿôbēd* "Versorger"; O. Eissfeldt, "Sohnespflichten im alten Orient," *Syria* 43 (1966) 39-47, esp. 47 = *Kleine Schriften* Vol. IV (ed. R. Sellheim and F. Maass; Tübingen: Mohr, 1968) 264-70, esp. 270. But the stereotyped form of the saying argues against this. Sasson considers the syntax "exceptional," and suggests that it serves "to

otherwise the same as in the preceding cases, except for the substitution of a personal name for a pronominal suffix following the preposition *l*. But this corresponds exactly to the situation in which it is uttered. The announcement is addressed to the larger community outside the family, which is invited, not to claim the child for itself, as in the Isaiah passage, but to appreciate what this means for Naomi. Hence, Naomi, as the primary beneficiary of the birth, is cited as the one to whom the child is born.

The four texts we have considered come from two different languages and literatures; from poetry and prose; from lament, poetic narrative, prophetic proclamation and prose narrative. Yet all share several formal features: a third masculine singular passive form of the verb *yld*, the noun *bn* as subject, and a prepositional phrase consisting of the preposition *l* with a following pronominal suffix or personal name. It is reasonable to conclude that this is a traditional fixed saying, used to convey news of a birth. While there is some variation in word order, this may be explained by the constraints of grammar or poetry in the particular contexts in which we now find the saying.

The different examples illustrate different stages in the spreading of the news: first to the father (*lk*: Jer 20:15), who may reiterate it to himself (*ly*: *KTU* 1.17 II 14); then to the larger family or community that may claim the child as theirs (*ln*: Isa 9:5), and finally to those beyond the immediate circle (*1PN*: Ruth 4:17).

It may be objected that such a saying is "natural" — people could hardly have said anything else. However, this is not so. The Isaiah passage shows that it would have been quite possible for people — especially poets — to use

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emphasize the birth of a child to Naomi" — Sasson, *Ruth*, 177. He then changes the verb form by revocalizing it: *yālad*, and translates the sentence: "He (i.e. Boaz) begat a son for Naomi" (comparing Isa 49:21). Wisely, he does not incorporate this in his continuous translation of the book (see *Ruth*, 20) — one would have to look all the way back to verse 13 for the masculine singular antecedent of the verb!

another noun (e.g. *yeled*) or another verb (e.g. *ntn*). More simply, it would have been possible to use, instead of the *qal* passive, the *nip'al* of the verb *yld*, which is well attested in a similar construction (e.g. *wayyiwaled l^ePN bēn* "then a son was born to so-and-so") and with precisely the same meaning.[14] Finally, it would have been possible to state the case actively, using the *qal* of *yld* with the mother as subject (as in *KTU* 1.23:52-53 = 60, discussed below), or the *qal* or *hip'îl* with the father as subject. That none of these options was chosen in any of the four cases suggests that, while they were grammatical and semantic options, they were not social options — that in the immediate aftermath of a birth the conventional form for the birth announcement was that which we have identified as common to the four passages.

Several other passages call for comment: two because they reflect the same traditional saying, even though the particular contexts effect more significant changes in it; another because the suggestion has been made that it represents a traditional birth announcement, but, it will be argued, does not; and another because, while it treats of the same social situation — the bringing to the father of news of a birth — it uses quite different language in the messenger's report.

The primary form of the announcement, that to the father, is attested in another Ugaritic context, transposed onto the mythical plane. Baal has copulated with a cow, and Anat comes to announce the outcome of this union, bidding Baal be informed of the great news (the verb *bśr* is used, corresponding to the Hebrew *bśr* of Jer 20:15):

k ibr l b'l yld For a bull has been born to Baal
w rum l rkb 'rpt and a wild ox to the Cloudrider
KTU 1.10 III 36-37

14 See F.I. Andersen, "Passive and ergative in Hebrew," *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W.F. Albright* (ed. H. Goedicke; Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University, 1971) 1-15, esp. 11.

Instead of the second person Anat uses the polite third person to address Baal (and to meet the demands of versification). As dictated by the context, she substitutes *ibr //rum* for *bn*. The word order is attested in other sentences consisting of nominal subject + *l* + proper noun + passive verb, e.g. *rgm lyṭ[pn y]bl* "word [was b]rought to Yṭ[pn]" (*KTU* 1.19 IV 50-51); *rgm lil ybl* "word was brought to El" (*KTU* 1.23:52, 59). There can be no question that behind this mythological announcement lies the standard birth announcement: "a son has been born to PN." The respectful address to the father is identical with the third person form used in the wider promulgation of the news to the larger community (as in Ruth 4:17a).

The high style and concentrated expression of Job 3:3 effect more drastic alterations in the common saying. This verse reads:

yō'bad yôm 'iwwāled bô
w'hallaylâ 'āmar hōrâ gāber

Perish the day on which I was born
And the night that said: "A man is conceived."

The "day" of the first colon is paralleled by the "night" of the second. The verb *yld* is used in the first colon, so the verb *hrh* "conceive" is introduced as a parallel in the second. Thus the poet parallels the day of birth with the night of conception. Instead of a *bn* it is a *gbr* who is announced.[15] There is no reference to the father or any other beneficiary of the birth. The night is personified as the messenger who brings the announcement.[16] This poetic conceit should not obscure the fact that the two halves of Job 3:3 are a more terse and poetic version of the two subjects of Jer 20:14-15 — a curse on the speaker's day of birth and on the

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[15] On the purport of *gbr* here see F. Horst, *Hiob 1* (BKAT; 2d ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969) 43.

[16] As many have observed, the personified Night here corresponds to the human messenger of Jer 20:15. Ps 19:3-5 has often been cited as another case of the personification and speech of night.

messenger who announced his birth. The single bicolon of Job 3:3 distils the poetic essence of what is treated with prosaic fullness in Jer 20:14-15.[17] The compactness of the poetry in Job 3:3 precludes anything inessential. Nevertheless, the final sentence preserves the grammar of the conventional birth announcement: 3 m.s. perfect passive verb + nominal subject: *hōrâ gāber* "a man has been conceived." The conventions of parallelism and versification and the pithiness of his style license the poet to transfer and adapt the birth announcement to the moment of conception.[18] The reference to conception, as a person's remotest beginnings, heightens the force of the speaker's curse on himself.[19] It is quite inappropriate to assume an impersonal subject for *'āmar* and translate: "the night in which it was said . . ." (as do most of the versions). That only introduces the unrealistic notion that someone could have known the sex of a conceived embryo — an embarrassment which probably promoted the Septuagint rendering *idou* "behold" for *hrh* (presupposing a reading *hĕrēh* [= Mishnaic *hĕrê*] for MT *hōrâ*).[20]

According to Westermann, the announcement of the visitor to Abraham in Gen 18:10 "could correspond to the

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17 For further exploration of the relations between the larger contexts Jer 20:14-18 and Job 3:3-11 see C. Westermann, *Der Aufbau des Buches Hiob* (Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie 23; Tübingen: Mohr, 1956) 32.

18 So G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob* (KAT; Gütersloh: Mohr, 1963) 115, citing Isa 9:5 and Jer. 20:15 (but not Ruth 4:17)

19 So A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob* (ATD 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963) 40 and Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, 116.

20 Horst interprets the Septuagint as giving an "abschwächende Sinnwiedergabe," rather than presupposing a different vocalization of the Hebrew text. Among recent commentators I have found only one who follows the LXX: A. de Wilde, *Das Buch Hiob* (Oudtestamentische Studiën 22; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 97; but the saying of night is translated as a jussive — "Let a boy be conceived" — by J. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry* (New Haven and London: Yale, 1981) 9. V. 3b is deleted as a later insertion by O. Loretz, "Ugaritisch-Hebräisch in Job 3,3-26," *UF* 8 (1976), 123-131, esp. 124-5, 127.

message of the birth of a child brought to the father at its birth."[21] The text reads: *wĕhinnēh-bēn lĕśārâ ʾištekā* "A son to/for Sarah, your wife!" But the first half of the quoted announcement reads: *šôb ʾāšûb ʾēlêkā kāʿēt ḥayyâ* "I will definitely return to you this time next year," so that the force of the following *hinnēh* is something like "by then," and the temporal reference implied for the following nominal sentence is future: "by then, Sarah, your wife, will have a son!" The sentence functions here as an annunciation (addressed to the father-to-be). While it differs in form from the typical annunciation, it differs more sharply in both form and situation from the typical birth announcement.

In *KTU* 1.23:52-53 = 60, on the other hand, the situation is clearly the reporting of a birth to the father. Two women have just given birth (*tldn* 51-52 = 58), and immediately word is brought to El (*rgm lil ybl* 52=59). The announcement reads as follows: *aṯty il ylt* "The two women of El (or: my two women, El,) have given birth!" Here the mothers are the subject of the active verb, and there is no reference to the offspring. Immediately after the announcement comes the question: *mh ylt* "What have they born?" (53=60). The answer finally identifies the offspring (*yldy* ... 53; *ilmy* ... 60). Clearly this "birth announcement" in no way reflects the traditional form we have identified in this paper. What it does is allow the composers to pose the question about the nature of the offspring, and so to develop the identification and characterization of the new-born. It is presumably to accomplish this description of the two new beings that the composers have introduced the question, and in turn the peculiar form of announcement of the births that invites the question.

The question may be raised whether it is mere coincidence that all clear cases of the use of the traditional birth announcement refer to the birth of a son, and none to that of a daughter. Would the saying have been adapted in

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21 C. Westermann, *The Promises to the Fathers* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980) 135.

the event of the birth of a girl (*tld bt* ʾ–)? Although the number of cases is small, it seems likely the news of the birth of a daughter was not so formally and joyfully proclaimed. The ancient Near East in general, and Israel in particular, placed a much higher value on sons that on daughters. Twice in the biblical literature when a woman is dying in childbirth, she is comforted by her (female) attendants with the assurance that she is giving birth to a son (Gen 35:17; 1 Sam 4:20). The implication is that the assurance that she had given birth to a male child was the supreme comfort to a woman dying in childbirth. Until an example is found in which the birth of a daughter is proclaimed with the traditional birth announcement, it is best to consider the birth of a son as the only occasion on which it was used. (*KTU* 1.24:5 presents a tantalizing possibility of a counter-example in Ugaritic literature, but the text is damaged, the different editions read it differently and the context does not appear to support the placement of a birth announcement here.)

A birth, specifically the birth of a son, was an occasion for rejoicing. Consequently, the birth announcement was far from being a simple statement of fact. It was an exclamation of joy,[22] and its effect on its audience was to gladden and delight. Almost every example is accompanied by an explicit reference to the happiness the news brings. Thus, even when the bringer of the news is, in retrospect, cursed, as in Jer 20:15, the poet adds, describing the original effect of the news on the father: *śimmēaḥ śimmŏḥāhû* "he made him very happy." (The force of the wish in Job 3:3 is, as in Jer 20:15, precisely to reverse in the present this joy that was associated with the announcement of the original birth.)[23] In *Aqht* the poet dwells long on the effects of the news on Danel:

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22 A "herkömmliche Freudenruf" according to G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, 115.

23 Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, 116; N.C. Habel, *The Book of Job* (OTL; London: SCM, 1985) 107.

bd l nil pnm tšmḫ Danel's face shone happily;
wʿl yṣḥl pitỉ above, his brow glowed;
yprq lṣb wyṣḥq he broke into a smile and laughed;
pʿn lhdm yṭpd set his foot on the footstool;
yšu gh wyṣḥ raised his voice and cried:
aṯbn ank wanḫn "Now I can sit down and rest,
wtnḫ birty npš my soul can rest in my breast,
kyld bn ly ... For a son has been (will be) born to me ...
KTU 1.17 II 8-14

The *k* of the last verse introduces the birth announcement as the reason for Danel's new found happiness.

Great rejoicing is described again in Isa 9:2:

hirbîtā haggôy You have multiplied the nation,
lō[24] *higdaltā haśśimḥâ* made its happiness great;
śāmēḥû lĕpānêkā Thanks to you they are happy
kĕśimḥat baqqāṣîr with the happiness of harvest,
kaʾăšer yāgîlû with the happiness
bĕḥalqām šālāl of dividing up spoil.

Three reasons are given for this happiness, each beginning with *kî* (vv 3, 4, 5).[25] As noted above, the first two are the future deliverance from military oppression. The third, which gives present assurance that the divine initiative has already been taken, is the announcement of the birth of the child who is heir to the Davidic throne.

Of the four cardinal examples of the birth announcement, Ruth alone lacks explicit reference to the joy of the occasion. However, the birth announcement in Ruth is unique also in being the only one not expressed by or to direct beneficiaries of the birth, appearing instead in the mouths of neighbouring women, who presumably are passing the word on to other neighbours. Neither speakers nor audience would feel quite

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24 On the reading see the recent discussion in D. Barthelemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* 2 (OBO 50/2; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986) 60-63.

25 A. Alt, "Jesaja 8,23-9,6," (see note 9 above). *Festschrift Bertholet*, 44 = *Kleine Schriften* 2, 220-21.

the same joy as the immediate beneficiaries of the birth. Even so, these women strongly suggest in 4:15 reasons why Naomi should be rejoicing. Shifting to the mythological context of *KTU* 1.10, we read, immediately following the announcement to Baal of the birth of his bovine offspring, the colon: *yšmḫ aliyn bʿl* "Mighty Baal rejoiced" (*KTU* 1.10 III 38).

The birth announcement and the joy associated with it are still well expressed in the Greek of the New Testament, specifically in the angels' announcement to the shepherds in Luke 2:10-11: *Mē phobeisthe, idou gar euaggelizomai hymin charan megalēn hētis estai panti tǫ laǭ, hoti etechthē hymin sēmeron sōtēr* ... "Fear not, for I am bringing you news of great joy for the whole people, for a saviour has been born to you today ..." Following the conventional "fear not,"[26] which addresses the shepherds' "great fear" mentioned in v 9, the angel announces that his message will bring great joy to the entire community.[27] As in Isa 9:5 (cf. *KTU* 1.17 II 14), the reason for the joy is then given: the birth of a deliverer. Also as in Isa 9:5, the announcement is addressed to the community, the second person plural replacing the first person plural of Isaiah as the angel, standing outside the community, replaces the prophet who stands within it. One reason why the shepherds are expected to rejoice over such a brief announcement as is contained in verse 11 is precisely because its opening words evoke in the minds of its readers the fuller promises of Isa 9.

Despite these substantive reminiscences of Isa 9:5,[28]

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26 Cf., e.g., Gen. 26:24; Judg. 6:23; Dan. 10:12.

27 My colleague, Howard Kee, reminds me that for Luke "the whole people" involves a significant redefinition and extension — socially and geographically — of the traditional concept. Cf. especially Jesus' first address in Luke 4:16-30.

28 R. Brown (*The Birth of the Messiah* [Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1979] 424-25) sees Isa. 9:5 as the "primary background" of Luke 2:11, but does not connect the joy of Luke 2:10 with that of Isa. 9:2.

Luke's language is quite different from the LXX of Isa 9:5, which reads: *hoti paidion egennēthē hēmin, huios kai edothē hēmin.* It is rather the Greek of the standard birth announcement as found in Jer 20:15 (*Etechthē soi arsen*) and Ruth 4:17 (*etechthē huios tē Noēmin*) on which Luke draws. He uses the same verb form as in those two passages (where all the Greek evidence is in agreement), and the same word order as in Jer 20:15 (with the insertion of *sēmeron*[29]). While an allusion to Isa 9:5 is perfectly understandable here, there is no reason why either Jer 20:15 or Ruth 4:17 should have been in the mind of the composer of this announcement of the Saviour's birth. It is more likely, therefore, that his Greek reflects, like that of the translators of Jer 20:15 and Ruth 4:17, the standard Hebrew form of the birth announcement.

Brown recognizes that Luke 2:11 is the core of the divine message to the shepherds, but nevertheless relates the whole passage to the "standard annunciation pattern" (referring to a future birth), conceding then that "the format of the promised conception has been changed, since the child is already born." He notes in particular the absence of the fourth component in his schematic representation of this pattern, namely the request for a sign or the objection questioning how the announced birth can take place.[30] In fact, of the eight elements of the divine annunciation speech that Brown lists as a-h,[31] Luke here uses only two: c (reassurance — "fear not") and h (future accomplishments — assuming that the titles of the child serve to indicate such). It is precisely the speech that is significant here. The other elements of the "pattern" — the appearance of the (angel of the) Lord, the

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29 "A favourite Lucan expression," according to Brown (*The Birth of the Messiah*, 402). See J. Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel* (London: Dartman, Longman and Todd, 1976) 70-71; and J. Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums* (Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das neue Testament; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1980) 81.

30 Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 424.

31 Ibid., 156, Table VIII.

fear of the recipient of the visitation, the latter's objection or request for a sign, and the giving of a sign — are general features of individual theophanies, and have no essential relationship to birth announcements, before or after birth.

Granting that the essence of the whole message is contained in verse 11, I would suggest that the annunciation is irrelevant here. Luke is rather using the conventional Hebrew announcement of a birth that has just taken place, using it in its proper setting, and associating it, as other literary contexts do, with the joy to which such an event gives rise (verse 10). The whole speech is based on the traditional birth announcement, adapted to the angelic speaker, the occasion and the audience. If there is an implicit challenge here to imperial Roman claims,[32] that challenge is clothed more in traditional Jewish than Roman format, recalling both the language of the traditional birth announcement, and the particular use of the announcement for the birth of the Davidic deliverer in Isa 9.

The preceding observations may not significantly modify Brown's judgment that "probably a message shaped by Semitic-speaking Jewish Christians has been increasingly Hellenized, even before Luke passed it on to the Gentile Christians of a Pauline community,"[33] but they surely give more substance to the claim that an earlier form of the message was in fact shaped by "Semitic-speaking Jewish Christians."[34]

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32 Ibid., 415-16. None of the cited Latin passages comes as close as the birth announcement to the form of the angel's speech.

33 Ibid., 424, n.51.

34 I leave it to New Testament specialists to judge whether this in any way strengthens the case for other alleged Semitic features of the angels' announcement, e.g. *mšyḥ ʾdny* as the original of *christos kyrios* (C.C. Torrey, *Our Translated Gospels* (New York and London: Harper, 1936) 26, 28-29; cf. S. Farris, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives* [JSNTSS 9; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985] 37; Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, 402-3); the assonance of *mwšyʿ* and *mšyḥ* behind *sōtēr... christos* (R. Laurentin, "Traces d'allusions étymologiques en Luc I-II," *Bib* 37 [1956] 446, n.3; cf. Farris, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives*, 46). On

To conclude: the literary remains of Ras Shamra and the Hebrew Bible have preserved in diverse settings a small number of examples of the traditional birth announcement. This takes the form of a third person passive form of the verb *yld*, the noun *bn* as subject, and the preposition *l* followed by a pronominal suffix or noun referring to the prime beneficiary or beneficiaries of the birth — the father (Jer 20:15; *KTU* 1.17 II 14; 1.10 III 36); in extraordinary circumstances, the grandmother (Ruth 4:17); the larger community (Isa 9:5). The preserved examples set the announcement in the mouth of the messenger to the father (Jer 20:15; *KTU* 1.10 III 36), of the father himself (*KTU* 1.17 II 14), and of representatives of the larger community (Isa 9:5; Ruth 4:17). The great joy that such news brings is normally spelled out in the literary context of the announcement (Jer 20:15; *KTU* 1.17.2; 1.10.3; Isa 9:5). A freer adaptation of the saying is found in Job 3:3, but the announcement in *KTU* 1.23:52-53 = 60 is quite different. (Gen 18:10 is not relevant, since it concerns an annunciation.)

A reflex of the same Semitic saying is found in the New Testament in Luke 2:11, which presupposes the same linguistic form and social setting. Here an angel announces to some shepherds, as representatives of the Judean community that will benefit from the event: "I bring you news of great joy for the whole people, for a (son who will be your) saviour has been born to you."

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the question of Semitic sources behind Luke 1-2 see the final judgment of Brown, *Birth*, 245-46 and the review of the arguments (with special reference to the hymns) in Farris, *Hymns*, 31-66.

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A FIRST AND LAST THING TO DO IN MOURNING: *KTU* 1.161 AND SOME PARALLELS*

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Introduction

It has now been fifteen years since the discovery of the first Ugaritic funerary liturgy, RS 34.126 / *KTU* 1.161. Not surprisingly, this exciting find has resulted in a proliferation of articles, including two recent studies on the text[1] and a major article on its interpretation.[2] In spite of these and earlier studies, however, several interpretive problems still remain, probably the most important of which is the meaning of the middle section (lines 20 to 26) in which someone or something is bidden to descend to the netherworld.

The purpose of the present study is to establish the correct interpretation of this central portion of the text and to suggest further that it sheds new light on several Biblical and Ugaritic passages dealing with thrones and mourning rites (e.g. Gen 37:35, Isa 47:1, Ezek 26:16, *KTU* 1.5 VI 12-25; 1.6 I 1-18), including Isa 14:9 in which defunct kings in the

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1 Pierre Bordreuil and Dennis Pardee, "Le rituel funéraire ougaritique RS. 34.126," *Syria* 59 (1982) 121-28; Wayne T. Pitard, "RS 34.126: Notes on the Text," *Maarav* 4 (1987) 75-155.

2 B. Levine and J.-M. de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim: The Patrons of the Ugaritic Dynasty," *JAOS* 104 (1984) 649-59.

netherworld rise from their thrones to greet a tyrannical newcomer to the mirky realm below.

We begin, however, with the Ugaritic ritual itself. The text[3] and a translation of *KTU* 1.161 reflecting our interpretation of the debated lines 20-26 follow:

RS. 34.126 /*KTU* 1.161

1) *spr.dbḥ.ẓlm*	Account of a sacrifice for the shades:
2) *qritm.* rpi.a[rṣ]*	You are called,[4] O Rephaim of ear[th,
3) *qbitm.qbṣ.d[dn]*	You are summoned, O assembly of D[dn.]
4) *qra.ulkn.rp*[*	Called is Ulkn the Reph[aite,
5) *qra.trmn.rp[*	Called is Trmn the Reph[aite,
6) *qra.s*dn.w rd[n]*	Called is Sdn–w–rd[n,]
7) *qra.ṯr.*ʾilmn[*	Called is Ṯr –ʾilmn.
8) *qru.rpim.qdmym**	They called the ancient Rephaim![5]
9) *qritm.rpi.arṣ*	You are called, O Rephaim of earth,
10) *qbitm.qbṣ.dd[n]*	You are summoned, O assembly of Dd[n.]

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[3] The text follows the reading proposed by Pitard, "Notes on the Text," 78. The slash marks beginning in line 20 indicate divisions made on the basis of stichometry, except in the case of the second mark in the text of line 30 which denotes a variant reading.

[4] On this verb, see further J. Glen Taylor, "Observations on the Root *QBA*, "Call," in Ugaritic," *Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies* 32 (October 1984) 13.

[5] Another possibility, not suggested before, is "They have been called, O ancient Rephaim!"

11) *qra.ʿmṯtmr*.*m*[l]k**	Called is ʿAmiṯtamru the ki[n]g,
12) *qra.u.nqm[d.]m*l*k**	Called, yea, Niqma[du] the king.
13) *ksi.nqmd[.]t*b*k*y**	O throne of Niqmadu, weep,
14) *w.ydmʿ.h*dm.p*ʿnh*	And let shed tears its footstool,
15) *lpnh.ybky.ṯlḫn.mlʾk*	Before it weeps the kin[g's] table,
16) *w.yblʿ.udmʿth*	Which swallows its tears.[6]
17) *ʿdmt.w.ʿdmt.ʿdmt*	Nothingness, complete nothingness!
18) *išḫn.špš.w.išḫn*	Burn, O Shapshu, and burn.
19) *nyr.rbt.ʿln.špš.tṣḥ*	Luminary, Great Lady, Shapshu, from on high cries:
20) *aṯr[.bʾlk.l.ksh./aṯr*	"After your [l]ord, O throne, / After
21) *bʿlk.arṣ.rd./arṣ*	your lord to earth descend, / To earth
22) *rd.w.špl.ʿpr./tḥt*	descend and be low in the dust,/ Under
23) *sdn.w.rdn./tḥt.ṯr*	Sdn–w–rdn, / Under Tr–
24) *ʿlmn./tḥt.rpim. qdmy*m*	ʿlmn, / Under the ancient Rephaim,
25) *tḥt.ʿmṯtmr.mlk*	Under ʿAmiṯtamru the king,

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[6] The line is translated as a relative clause simply to make it more clear that it is the king's table which swallows the tears of the throne complex.

26) *tḥm.u.nq[md].mlk*	Under, yea, Niq[madu] the king."
27) *ʿšty.w.ṯlʿy./ ṯn.w.ṛbʿ[y]*	One and an offe[ring, / Two and] an offe[ring,]
28) *ṯlṯ.[w].ṛbʿy[/arbʿ].w.ṛbʿ[y]*	Three [and] an offering, / [Four] and an offe[ring,]
29) *ḫmš.w.ṛbʿy./ ṯṯ*[w.]ṛbʿy*	Five and an offering, / Six [and] an offering,
30) *šbʿ.w.ṛbʿy./ tqdm*/ d* ʿṣr*	Seven and an offering. / Present a bird
31) *šlm./ šlm. ʿmr[pi]*	as a peace offering. / Peace to Ammura[pi,]
32) *w.šlm.bn*ḥ./ šlm. [ḫry? [*	and peace to his house.[7] / Peace to [T]ry[l;
33) *šlm.bth./šlm.u[g]rt*	peace to her house. / Peace to U[ga]rit;
34) *šlm.ṯgrh*	peace to its gates.

I. Preliminary Remarks

What transpires in this text in the most general terms has long been clear. The ritual is occasioned by the death of Ugarit's penultimate king, Niqmadu III. The deceased who were thought to have possible influence on royal affairs are invoked by name to participate in the ritual, a major purpose of which is to secure blessing for the newly crowned Ammurapi, his house and kingdom. What takes place in the ritual after the dead are invoked and before offerings are presented and blessing sought (i.e. lines 13-19) has proved

[7] Or, following Pitard ("Notes on the Text," 85), "his son(s)."

more difficult to understand. It now seems clear, however, that these lines focus on the dead king's throne–and–footstool which, personified, weeps over the loss of its lord[8] and on the summoning of the sun–goddess Shapshu who plays a critical role in lines 20-26 to which attention is now given in detail.

II. The Options

As noted, there is no consensus about the correct interpretation of lines 20-26. In fact, there are at least five different options for who or what is bidden to descend to *arṣ*, "the netherworld" (or "the earth") in lines 20-26. The options and a brief explanation of each are as follows:[9]

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[8] See J. Glen Taylor, "A Long–Awaited Vocative Singular Noun with Final *'Aleph* in Ugaritic (KTU 1.161:13)?" *UF* 17 (1985) 315-18 in which a strong case is made on grammatical grounds for view that it is the throne of Niqmadu which weeps in line 13.

[9] We assume with the vast majority of commentators that *ksh* in line 20 is an error for *ksi*, "throne" (the scribe simply forgot to place the small vertical wedge below the three horizontal wedges on the last letter). A notable exception is Wayne T. Pitard ("The Ugaritic Funerary Text RS 34.126," *BASOR* 232 [1978] 66, 71) who renders *ksh* as "his cup." He translates line 20 as "to the place of your lord, to his cup" (i.e. a cup in the king's tomb and from which he could drink water poured down to him through a clay pipe). As Pitard himself acknowledges, however (*ibid.*, 71), that *aṯr* is a preposition "seems obvious." Moreover, Pitard's interpretation fails to account adequately for the parallel statements *aṯr bʿl a / nrd barṣ* by El and Anat at the news of Baal's death towards the end of the Baal cycle (see later in this study) and leaves still unclear the identity of the *bʿl*, "lord / owner," in lines 20 and 21 of the present text. Not surprisingly, then, Pitard in his most recent study ("Notes on the Text," 82-83) expresses far less confidence in this interpretation than he did in his earlier study and offers no further defense of the view beyond confirming that the text actually reads *ksh*. We have no doubt, however, that this is a simple scribal error.

1. *The sun-goddess, Shapshu.* According to this view, Shapshu is addressed. She is bidden to return to the realm through which she travels at night.[10]

2. *The newly crowned king Ammurapi.* In this understanding, Ammurapi is understood to descend from the throne of his predecessor Niqmadu and to be prostrate on the ground at the feet of the defunct royal ancestry who have just been summoned.[11]

3. *The officiant* (and perhaps also the kings and others in attendance among the living).[12] Recently argued by Levine and de Tarragon, this view sees Shapshu informing the assembled living that they can find the summoned dead *tḥt*, "below," in the netherworld. The officiant (and perhaps others) then go down and retrieve the dead, bringing them to the funerary ritual.

4. *The throne.* According to this view (the one defended in this study), Shapshu bids the throne of king Niqmadu to descend to the netherworld. Although many scholars have embraced this view,[13] this interpretation, like the others, has its difficulties and has in fact been described as "far fetched."[14]

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[10] For example, Bordreuil and Pardee, "Le rituel funéraire," 123.

[11] Conrad E. L'Heureux, *Rank Among the Canaanite Gods* (HSM 21; Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979) 191. According to L'Heureux, "the central part of the ritual, therefore, is the prostration of the king at the feet of the shades of his dead ancestors in the hope of obtaining a blessing."

[12] Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 649-50, 656-58.

[13] For example, M. Dijkstra, J.C. de Moor, K. Spronk, Review of M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *KTU, Bibliotheca Orientalis* 38 (1981) 374-78; J.F. Healey, "Ritual Text KTU 1.161 — Notes and Translation," *UF* 10 (1978) 84-85, 87; Paolo Xella, *Testi rituali di Ugarit — I* (Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1981) 283, 286-87.

[14] L'Heureux, *Rank*, 191 n. 168.

5. *The shades.* According to the proponents of this view, Dietrich and Loretz, an officiant of the ceremony here bids the spirits of the dead to return to the netherworld, following their lord or head (a representative of the *qbṣ ddn*) who sits on a throne in the netherworld.[15]

We hope to show beyond reasonable doubt that the fourth option is correct, which means that the main focus in this west-semitic funerary ritual is on the throne of the deceased king and its descent to the netherworld to be with its *bʿl*, "lord" (or "owner").

III. Evaluation of Options

Before mounting a case in favour of the fourth option, it is worth mentioning briefly some of the difficulties associated with the other options.

The first option seems to us quite unlikely; for Shapshu to descend she would have to be speaking to herself and that she is not is clear from the second-person suffix on *bʿlk*, "your lord" in line 21. Moreover, even if one assumes with those who hold this view that lines 20-26 do not contain the speech of Shapshu but an order by another to her, it is highly unlikely that there is anything (or anyone) in the context which (or who) could be the *bʿl*, "master," "owner," or "lord" of the goddess who "rules the Rephaim"[16] and who is the spokesperson of El.

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15 M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, "Neue Studien zu den Ritualtexten aus Ugarit (II)," *UF* 15 (1983) 21.

16 Cf. *KTU* 1.6. VI 45-46: *špš rpim tḫtk*, "Shapshu, you rule the Rephaim." (The oblique case of *rpim*, "Rephaim," in this passage lends force to the interpretation that this noun is the object of *tḫtk*, understood as a verb, "you shall rule." Even if one follows the alternative interpretation of this passage, "Shapshu, the Rephaim are under you," the Rephaim are still "under" the sun-goddess.) That in the Baal cycle Shapshu speaks to Athtar and to Mot on El's behalf (*KTU* 1.2 III 15-18 and 1.6 VI 22-29 respectively) suggests that she is the spokesperson of

Regarding the third option, it is doubtful that these lines can be accounted for by assuming as do Levine and de Tarragon that Shapshu tells "the officiant (and perhaps the king and those assembled) to descend into the netherworld, 'below,' where Niqmadu and Ammishtamru can be found near the Rephaim (lines 20-26)."[17] The reason for the dubiety is simple: Niqmadu, Ammishtamru and the Rephaim are not in the netherworld, but are already present at the ceremony, each having been summoned by name at the very start of the ritual.[18] In other words, it is doubtful that more than half-way through the ritual the officiant and others would go in search of those whose very presence at the ritual was required to start the ceremony. (Ugaritic studies offers here a maxim with which present-day officiating clerics will no doubt agree: There is no need not go in search of Pandemonium where it already reigns!)

A few objections can also be raised concerning the second option that Ammurapi descends. At least as construed

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El. Moreover, it is doubtful that the sun-goddess would be regarded as subordinate to the king in a city in which kings were often referred to as "sun."

17 Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 649.

18 Apparently recognizing this dilemma, Levine and de Tarragon (*ibid.*, 650) render the verbs of suffixed conjugation in lines 2-12 as imperatival in force. This, however, is not the most natural way to understand the verbs; besides, as Levine and de Tarragon themselves imply (*ibid.*, 657), in rituals like these tremendous importance is placed upon the dead actually being summoned by name (as would be the case if the verbs are understood as internal passives [as suggested originally by R.M. Good, "Supplementary Remarks on the Ugaritic Funerary Text RS 34.126," *BASOR* 239 (1980) 41; cf. Bordreuil and Pardee, "Rituel funéraire ougaritique," 123]). Even if one accepts the unlikely view of Levine and de Tarragon that some unidentified party is bidden to summon the deceased in lines 2-12, it remains curious that those ordered to summon the Rephaim are not told where they can be found until much later in the ritual. (On the importance of calling the name of the dead, see, for example, Miranda Bayliss, "The Cult of Dead Kin in Assyria and Babylonia," *Iraq* 35 [1973] 116-17.)

by L'Heureux, the view involves the assumption that this newly crowned king would regard the previous king as his *b'l*, "lord." Although it is certainly more likely that Ugaritian royalty would use the term "lord" of a dead king than of one living, we are not aware of any concrete evidence that would suggest that the designation would be likely on the lips of Ammishtamru in the present context.[19] More importantly, the option as construed to date involves the assumption that *arṣ* here refers to the earth or ground which is difficult to reconcile with two passages in the so–called Baal cycle which are very similar to lines 20-26 and for which "netherworld" is the best understanding of *arṣ*.[20] In these passages, El and Anat, upon hearing the news of Baal's death, lament using conventional signs of mourning. After finishing these rites, they express the following wish:

aṯr b'l.a/nrd.barṣ
After Baal I /we[21] would descend to the netherworld.

That the netherworld and not earth is intended can be supported also from the very similar mournful words of Jacob in Gen 37:35:

'ērēd 'el bĕnî 'ābēl šĕ'ōlâ
I will descend to my son, mourning, to Sheol.

Since it will be shown later in this study that the parallel between these passages and *KTU* 1.161 is very close indeed, it can be safely assumed that *arṣ* in lines 20 and 21 of this funerary ritual refers to the netherworld.

Regarding the fifth option which assumes that an officiant bids the shades to descend to the netherworld, this view also fails to reckon sufficiently with the parallel passages just mentioned above; those who descend are not

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19 In this text Niqmadu is apparently not yet considered to be one of the Rephaim.

20 *KTU* 1.5 VI 24-25; 1.6 I 7-8.

21 The "I" and the "we" refer to El and to El and Anat respectively.

shades, nor are shades even mentioned in these passages. Moreover, two further difficulties arise in the interpretation of Dietrich and Loretz. 1. According to their view the *totengeister* must have a *bʿl* , but none is specified in the context and to find such Dietrich and Loretz have to chose from the *qbṣ ddn*, a group mentioned no less than ten lines earlier. 2. If the spirits of the dead were bidden to return to the netherworld, it is curious that they were not asked to do so *en masse*. In other words, for Dietrich and Loretz to be right, we would expect the spirits to be bidden departure with *aṯr bʿlkm*, "after your (plural) lord(s)," and not *aṯr bʿlk*, "after your (singular) lord(s)."[22]

To be sure, the fourth option that the throne descends, here defended, also has had its weaknesses. Until recently, the biggest objection to this interpretation was that *ksi* must be understood as a vocative which seemed unlikely in view of the *i-ʾalep* of *ksi* which at least normally reflects the absence of a final vowel or the presence of the vowel *i* after the *ʾalep*[23] (neither of which we would expect in the case of a vocative). However, this objection can no longer be sustained because it has been shown recently that the noun *ksi* with *i-ʾalep* in line 13 of this same text must be a vocative.[24] In view of this we are now at perfect liberty on grammatical grounds to assume that *lksi* (with vocative *lāmed*) just seven lines later in this same text is also a vocative, "O throne."

A second objection to the view that a throne descends is simply that there is no direct evidence of any kind (at least in so far as we are aware) which would lead one to expect

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22 Moreover this phrase supposedly bidding departure to the many shades is uttered only once, which stands in stark contrast to the individual attention given to the calling of each shade (or group of shades) in lines 2-12.

23 See D. Marcus, "The Three Alephs in Ugaritic," *JANESCU* 1 (1968-1969) 50-60.

24 Taylor, "Vocative Singular Noun with Final *Aleph*," 315-18.

the focus in an ancient west–semitic funerary ritual to be on a throne and its transference to the netherworld. Indeed, to date the only compelling evidence offered in favour of this fourth option is the brief comment of J.C. de Moor who says the following:

> Whereas most inhabitants of the nether world had to lay down in the dust, kings sometimes enjoyed the privilege of being seated on thrones (Jes 14 9), if the relatives on earth took the proper measures. Thus Gilgamesh provided his deceased friend Enkidu with a comfortable chair that would assure him an honoured position among the princes of the nether world.[25]

In light of the scarcity of evidence rallied by de Moor it is not surprising that this option has been regarded as "far fetched."[26]

IV. A Descending Throne in KTU 1.161:20-26 and New Light on Biblical and Ugaritic Mourning Rites

There are, however, more reasons for supposing that a throne would be bidden to descend to the netherworld than one might judge from the brief discussion of de Moor.

First a word of background is in order concerning the origin of mourning rites. Although the origin of many mourning practices such as shaving the head and self–mutilation remains obscure, there is a remarkable similarity between many mourning practices and the predicament of the

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25 De Moor, "Rephaim," 335. In his footnote (*ibid.*, n. 81) de Moor mentions also the Sumerian text, the Death of Ur–Nammu, but the case for the significant role of a throne in this text seems far from striking (see S.N. Kramer, "The Death of Ur–Nammu and His Descent to the Netherworld," *JCS* 21 [1967] 115-19). On the passage in the Gilgamesh Epic, see later in this study, n. 44.

26 L'Heureux, *Rank*, 191 n. 161.

dead in the netherworld[27] — so much so that it is possible to suggest that at least some acts done in mourning express identification with the predicament of the dead.[28] That in the Bible acts done in mourning were not restricted to laments for the dead but could include mourning over, say, a national disaster suggests that the original notion of identification with the dead had been forgotten. However, that this original sense of identification with the dead had not been lost in the case of mourning rites at Ugarit is suggested by the expression *aṯr b'l ard barṣ*, "after Baal I would descend to the netherworld," a statement by El and then by Anat clearly expressing the desire of these mourners to be associated with Baal in the netherworld.[29]

Although it does not necessarily follow that every element in the rituals of mourning reflected in the mythological texts from Ugarit had a sub–earthly counterpart, it is important for our purposes to note that in the passage dealing with El's mourning at the news of Baal's death, mention is made of a throne:

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27 Note, for example, the observation of Aase Koefoed ("Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld," *Acta Sumerologica* 5 [1983] 20) concerning the similarity between the biblical mourning practices of wearing sackcloth, avoiding perfume and taking off sandals and lines 185-93 of the Sumerian tale of Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld in which Enkidu is bidden not to wear a shining garment, to adorn himself with sweet oil or to wear sandals on his visit to the netherworld (to wear such would mark him as an alien, draw a crowd and result in his seizure by the netherworld). On the text, see A. Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgames* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1963). Other practices which might express identification with the dead include pouring dust on one's head, sitting on the ground and wallowing in the dust, and fasting.

28 Note, for example, Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 658. See also, Bendt Alster, "The Mythology of Mourning," *Acta Sumerologica* 5 (1983) 1-16 and Koefoed, "Gilgamesh," *ibid.*, 17-23.

29 Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 658.

apnk.ltpn.il dpid.	Thereupon benificent El benign
yrd.lksi.yṯb l hdm.	Descended from the throne, sat on the footstool,
w l.hdm.yṯb l arṣ.	And from the footstool he sat on the ground;
yṣq.'mr un. l rišh.	He poured straw of mourning on his head,
'pr.plṯt l. qdqdh.	Dust of wallowing on his crown;
lpš.yks mizrtm.	For clothing he donned sackcloth;
ǵr.b abn ydy.	Skin with a stone he scraped...[30]

This first argument as it relates to *KTU* 1.161 is thus in two stages: 1) El's descent from the throne might be an act expressing sympathy with the predicament of the dead; and 2) if sympathetic, the act presupposes that the dead were throneless, a lamentable state which one might expect the loyal followers of a king of Ugarit to alleviate in a funerary ritual.

A problem with this argument of course is that it is commonly assumed that El's descent from the throne in this text is simply a preliminary to the acts of mourning proper which begin with El's sitting upon the ground. However, even if this assumption were true, the argument would still stand because El's mournful act of sitting on the ground would be no less suggestive that chairs were needed in the netherworld. Nonetheless, we believe that the assumption is mistaken and that getting down from the throne is a hitherto unrecognized mourning rite, as the following evidence strongly suggests.

30 *KTU* 1.5 VI 11-18.

To begin, just because El has to get off his throne to sit on the ground does not mean that getting down from the throne is an incidental "preliminary"; it could as easily be an integral part of the act of mourning and in fact an important "first step" in the process. That El's descent from the throne in *KTU* 1.5 VI 11-14 is not simply incidental is certainly supportable from the text itself which elaborates at length on El's descent first from the throne to the footstool and then from the footstool to the ground. The view also corresponds well with the Mesopotamian understanding that the dead are chairless wanderers. More importantly, that getting down from the throne is an act of mourning can be supported from the MT of Isa 47:1,[31] which employs *qinah* meter and which reads as follows:

rĕdî ûšĕbî 'al 'āpār	Go down and sit on the dust,
bĕtûlat bat bābel	Virgin daughter of Babylon;
šĕbî lā'āreṣ 'ên kissē'	Sit on the ground without a throne,[32]
bat kaśdîm	Daughter of the Chaldeans;
kî lō' tôsîpî yiqrĕ'û lāk	For you shall no longer be called
rakkâ wa'ănuggâ	Delicate and dainty.

Babylon the virgin daughter has reason to mourn; she will carry out slave labour, and she will be naked and have her

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31 R. N. Whybray (*Isaiah 40-66* [NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975] 118) judges the passage to be part of a mocking-song / funerary-taunt. For a full study of the chapter, see R. Martin-Achard, "Esaïe 47 et la tradition prophétique sur Babylone," *Prophecy: Essays presented to Georg Fohrer on his sixty-fifth birthday* (ed. J.A. Emerton; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 83-105. (It should be noted that the passage in form and content is mixed. It is safe to say, however, that the passage clearly employs funerary style and imagery.)

32 The phrase "without a throne" is omitted in the LXX, but is necessary for the meter.

shame exposed, for the Lord of Hosts will take vengeance upon her. What are the signs of the virgin's mourning? Again, lamentation starts not simply with sitting on the ground, but with descent from a throne, as is made clear twice in the present context, first by *rĕdî*, "descend" (presumably from the throne), and second by the specific reference to sitting on the ground *'ēn kissē'*, "without a throne." In light of the Ugaritic parallel and the dirge style it is highly unlikely that the reference to being without a throne signifies simply the loss of rule.[33] Moreover, the imagery in Isa 47:1 is not simply indebted to the language of mourning in general, but is indebted to the language of mourning specifically as it relates to death, as is suggested by Isa 47:5 which is strikingly similar in structure to v 1 and which also begins with the language of death:[34]

šĕbî dûmām ûbō'î baḥṯōšek	Sit in silence and go into Darkness,
bat kaśdîm	Daughter of the Chaldeans;
kî lō' tôsîpî yiqrĕ'û lāk	For you shall no longer be called
gĕberet mamlĕākôt	Mistress of kingdoms.

That getting down from a chair is a step in mourning and not an incidental preliminary is suggested further by the mention of descent from the throne in Ezek 26:16, again in a context clearly funerary:

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33 This appears to be the significance of Ps 89:45, for example (cf. v 40). It is likely that the reference to being without a throne in Isa 47:1 is a case of *double entendre*, referring to both a mourning rite and a loss of rule.

34 Cf. N.J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament* (Biblica et Orientalia 21; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969). Both vv 1 and 5 begin with imperatives drawing on the language of death / mourning, address Babylon in female imagery, and contain the statement *kî lō' tôsîpî yiqrĕ'û lāk*, followed by a description of the woman Babylon.

kōh ʾāmar ʾădōnay YHWH lĕṣôr; hălō᾽ miqqôl mappaltēk beʿĕnōq ḥālāl bĕhārēg hereg bĕtôkēk yirʿăšû haʾiyyîm; wĕyārĕdû mēʿal kisʾôtām kōl nĕśîʾê hayyām, wĕhēsîrû ʾet mĕʿîlêhem, wĕʾet bigĕdê riqmātām yipšōṭû; hărādôt yilbāšû ʿal haʾāreṣ yēšēbû, wĕhārĕdû lirgāʿîm, wĕšāmĕmû ʿālayik; wĕnāśĕʾû ʿālayik qînâ wĕʾāmĕrû lāk ...

Thus says the Lord Yahweh to Tyre: Will not the coastlands quake at the sound of your falling, when the wounded groan, when the slaughter is made in your midst? All the princes of the sea will get down from their thrones, they will remove their robes, and their embroidered garments they will strip off. They will clothe themselves with trembling; on the ground they will sit and they will tremble every minute and be aghast at you. And they shall lift up a dirge and say to you ...

Note again that the first act of mourning is descent from a throne and that here there can be no doubt that this step is distinct from sitting on the ground mentioned much later in the description of mourning.

Mention of a descent from a throne in just one of the passages noted above might warrant its being considered an incidental preliminary, but this is hardly likely when it occurs in all of these texts. Rather, the widespread occurrence of the reference to getting down from a throne in these passages suggests strongly that a new first item should added to the often cited list of acts that might be done in mourning: descent from a throne or chair. To get down from a throne, then, was at least in the case of royalty and the gods, a customary first thing to do in mourning and an act which probably reflects the understanding that there were no thrones to sit on in the netherworld.[35]

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35 For lists of conventional mourning practices, none of which mention descent from a chair or throne, see, for example, R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel I: Social Institutions* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965) 59; A. Baumann, "*ʾăbal*," *TDOT* 1 (1974) 45; Johs. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture I-II* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926) 494-96.

Before returning to the meaning of lines 20-26 of *KTU* 1.161, it is worth noting that a further example of descent from the throne as a first act of lamentation for the dead is probably reflected in an earlier portion of our Ugaritic funerary ritual. We refer to *KTU* 1.161:13-16:

13) *ksi.nqmd[.] t*b*k*y**	O throne of Niqmadu, weep,
14) *w.ydmʿ.h*dm.p*ʿnh*	And let shed tears its footstool,
15) *lpnh.ybky.ṯlḫn.mi[k*	Before it weeps the kin[g's] table,
16) *w.ybkʿ.udmʿth*	Which swallows its tears.

This passage is roughly parallel to the account cited above of the mourning of El at the news of Baal's death. As in the mythological text, here too in the ritual the description of mourning begins with the throne and footstool, only in the case of this funerary ritual the situation is complicated by the fact that the mourner is not El but the throne itself which has lost its "lord" or "owner" (cf. line 20). To alleviate the tension arising from the obvious inability of a throne to descend from the throne to the footstool and then from the footstool to the ground as did mournful El, the tears of the throne complex are chosen as a substitute and the effect of descent from the throne is preserved in the mention first of the tears of the throne itself, then of the footstool, and then of the table at the base of the throne which finally swallows the tears of a throne obviously unable to complete the mourning process.[36] In any case, lines 13-16 of *KTU*

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36 The situation is admittedly strange, but this is because of the weeping throne and not an inherent weakness in the argument. The comparison between the throne in this funerary ritual and the rites of mourning reflected in the case of El and Anat's mourning at the news of Baal's death can be supported further from the similarity between *aṯr bʿl a / nrd bars*, "after Baal I / we would descend to earth" (*KTU* 1.5. VI 24-25; 1.6. I 7-8) and *aṯr bʿlk arṣ rd*, "after your lord to earth descend" (*KTU* 1.161:20-21) (noted already by Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 657-58) and the argument mounted later in this study that

1.161 underline again the importance of the throne in the mourning process and the explanation just offered helps to explain the seemingly disproportionate amount of attention given to the throne complex in the ritual.

To return to the issue of whether a throne plays a key role also in lines 20-26 of *KTU* 1.161, is there any evidence from funeral feasts themselves that there was a concern for chairs for the dead? First, it is reasonable to suppose that just as food and water were supplied to meet postmortem needs, so too a chair would be supplied for the dead at the funeral feast. That this is the case is clearly supported in fact by the well–known funerary stelae in *ANEP*, in which the deceased who are provided with food or drink are always depicted as eating or drinking while sitting comfortably on chairs.[37]

More specifically, as M. Pope has noted in his published comments on this text (but only with reference to line 13) the custom of providing a chair for the dead is both ancient and widespread.[38] Although in terms of ancient Mesopotamian literature, the evidence for the custom is not as widespread as one might guess, three cases may be mentioned. First is the classic case mentioned by Pope, the context of which is worth noting:

> *šumma amēlu ana mīti ḫīrma eṭemmu išbassu ... ana eṭemmī kimtišu ina šumēli riksi kussâ tanaddi ana eṭemmī kimtišu*
> [39]*ina šumēli kussâ tanaddi ana eṭemmī kimti kispa takassip qīšāti taqâssunūti [tu]šarraḫšunūti tukabbassunūti*

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there is a further parallel between the desire of El, Anat and Jacob to descend to the netherworld to be with their loved one and the descent of the throne to the netherworld to be with its lord in *KTU* 1.161:20-26.

37 Cf. *ANEP*, figs. 630-32, 635-36.

38 M.H. Pope, "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit," *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 19; Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977) 180.

39 The text adds here «*ina šumēli eṭemmī*», a scribal error.

> If somebody has been "espoused" to a dead man and a ghost has seized him, you place a chair for the spirits of his family to the left of the cult-installation, you place a chair to the left for the spirits of his family, you make a food offering for the spirits of the family, you give them presents, you praise them, you honour them.[40]

Second is the fragmentary Mari *kispum* text 12803 already mentioned by Dietrich and Loretz, but only with respect to lines 13-17 of *KTU* 1.161.[41] This text from Mari notes in col. 1, 5-10 the sacrifice of a sheep to the *lamassātum*, "protective spirits," of Sargon and Naram Sin which takes place in the *bīt kussî*, "hall of thrones."[42] A throne is also mentioned in line 4', but the text is too fragmentary to discern its significance.

Third is the Epic of Gilgamesh where, according to B. Foster,[43] Gilgamesh seems to console Enkidu by assuring him that he will set up a chair for him at the funeral ritual.[44]

Finally, there are several passages dealing with the state of the dead and their arrival into the netherworld which show a concern for having a chair. Thus in the myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal, Nergal, about to visit the netherworld, is

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40 *CAD E*, 399, citing Heinrich Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1901) no. 52, lines 1, 12-15 (p. 166).

41 M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Totenverehrung in Mari (12803) und Ugarit (KTU 1.161)," *UF* 12 (1980) 381-82. Dietrich and Loretz note that in both texts offerings are made to the ancestors of the king and that in both cases a throne is of significance in the course of the offering. They also note that the sun plays a role in both ceremonies.

42 Lines 7 and 10. For the text, see M. Birot, "Fragment de ritual de Mari relatif au *kispum*," *Death in Mesopotamia* (ed. B. Alster; Mesopotamia 8; Copenhagen: Akademisk, 1980) 139-50.

43 Personal communication.

44 For the passage in the Gilgamesh Epic (Tablet VIII, iii, 2-3), see most conveniently *ANET*, 88.

given this as his first instruction from Ea: *ultu ullânumma kussê našûnikka ... ē tūšib ina muḫḫi*, "As soon as they bring a throne for you ... do not (rashly) go and sit on it."[45] The reason for the warning is not clear,[46] but it suggests again a concern for thrones in the netherworld. Moreover, later on in the text when Nergal makes a permanent move to the netherworld the first possession which the text mentions that he took was his throne.[47] Turning to Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld, Enkidu, having recently returned from the netherworld through a hole made for his ghost, describes the fate of the dead in the netherworld. Again the issue of seats arises; the fate of the man with two sons is that he sits on two bricks and eats bread,[48] while the fate of the one with seven sons (who is thus well cared for) is that "as a companion of the gods he sits on a chair and listens to music."[49]

Finally, Isa 14:9, noted in passing by de Moor, is also relevant:

šĕʾōl mittaḥat rāzĕnâ lĕkā	Sheol below is stirred up

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45 *CAD K*, 589. Cf. O.R. Gurney, "The Sultantepe Tablets (Continued)," *Anatolian Studies* 10 (1960) col. 2, lines 39'-40' (pp. 114-15).

46 According to Gurney (*ibid.*, 106) the offering of a chair is a sign of hospitality which would be dangerous to accept; according to Koefoed ("Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld," 20) the refusal to sit on the throne is the subterranean counterpart to the earthly practice of not sitting on the throne while mourning.

47 Gurney, "Sultantepe," col. 6, line 8 (p. 126). Unfortunately for Nergal, the throne was probably confiscated by the porter of the gate of the netherworld. It must be noted, however, that some argue that the throne is chosen because it is a superfluous. If this is so (and we see no reason to believe that it is in light of the evidence adduced in this study), then the relevance of this passage, only one of several supporting our thesis, is to be questioned.

48 Lines 257-58 for which see Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources*, 116.

49 Line 268 for which see *ibid.*, 117 (Shaffer's translation).

liqĕra't bô'ekā	To meet you at your coming;
'ôrēr lĕkā rĕpā'îm	It rouses for you the Rephaim,
kol 'attûdê 'ereṣ	All earth's leaders;
hêqîm mikkisĕ'ôtām	It raises from their thrones
kol malĕkê gôyîm ...	All the kings of the nations...

According to Isa 14:9 the defunct kings of earth sit on thrones in the netherworld. At this point the question may be asked, "How did they get them?" Could not rituals of supplying food and water for the dead have included providing a chair (or, in the case of royalty, a throne) as well? In our judgment, any doubt that they did at least in the case of king Niqmadu III of Ugarit can be removed in light of one final argument from the Ugaritic texts and from Gen 37:35.

As observed at the beginning of this study, many scholars have noted a striking similarity between the following statements: 1) *aṯr b'lk arṣ rd*, "after your lord to earth go down," (the words of Shapshu to a hitherto uncertain person or item, *KTU* 1.161:20-21), 2) *aṯr b'l ard barṣ*, "after Baal I will go down to earth," (the words of El at the news of Baal's death, *KTU* 1.5 VI 24-25), 3) *aṯr b'l wrd barṣ*, "after Baal we will descend to earth" (the words of Anat upon hearing the same news, *KTU* 1.6 I 7-8), and 4) *'ērēd 'el bĕnî 'ābēl šĕ'ôlâ* , "I will descend to my son, mourning, to Sheol" (the words of Jacob at the [false] news of Joseph's death, Gen 37:35). The similarity in wording and context (involving mourning in each case and including the sun goddess Shapshu in the case of the Ugaritic passages) makes the parallel unmistakable, as others have noted. What has evaded interpreters thus far, however, is the significance of the parallels for the understanding of *KTU*

1.161 and for mourning rites in general.[50] The key to the meaning of the parallel lies in the correct discernment of the context of the passages which may be outlined as follows:

First, Gen 37:34-35:

> *wayyiqraʿ yaʿăqōb śimlōtāyw, wayyāśem śaq bĕmotnāyw; wayyitʾabbēl ʿal bĕnô yāmîm rabbîm; wayyāqūmû kol bānāyw wĕkol bĕnōtāyw lĕnaḥămô wayyĕmāʾēn lĕhitnaḥḥēm; wayyōʾmer kî ʾērēd ʾel bĕnî ʾābēl šĕʾōlâ, wayyēbk ʾōtô ʾābîw,*
>
> And Jacob tore his garments and put sackcloth on his loins and mourned for his son many days. All his sons and daughters arose to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted, saying, "I will go down to my son, mourning, to Sheol." Thus his father mourned for him;

Then, the account of El's mourning for Baal (*KTU* 1.5 VI 11-25):

apnk.ltpn.il dpid.	Thereupon benificent El benign
yrd.lksi.yṯb l hdm.	Descended from the throne and sat on the footstool,
w l.hdm.yṯb l arṣ.	And from the footstool he sat on the ground;
yṣq.ʿmr un. lrišh.	He poured straw of mourning on his

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50 The significance attributed to the parallel thus far is as follows. Pope ("Notes on the Rephaim Texts," 181) says of *KTU* 1.161: 20b-21: "What Shapsh cries is a variant of the expression of grief which Anat and El voiced at the news of Baal's demise ... and Jacob's anguish when he thought Joseph was dead." Levine and de Tarragon who understand lines 20-26 to be those of Shapshu bidding an officiant (and perhaps others) to retrieve the defunct ancestors from the netherworld (i.e. option 3 noted earlier in this study) make more of the parallel, noting that a descent accomplished by a deity in the mythological texts is accomplished through recitation in the ritual. After citing the words of El and Jacob in Gen 37:35 as well as those in the ritual, Levine and de Tarragon ("Dead Kings and Rephaim," 658) offer the following interpretation:

> Both El's statement and Jacob's response convey a *double entendre*: There is the actual descent, to locate and retrieve the dead. There is also the intense personal identification with the dead, which evokes the desire to join them in the netherworld.

	head,
ʿpr.pỉṯt l. qdqdh.	Dust of wallowing on his crown;
lpš.yks mizrtm.	For clothing he donned sackcloth;
ǵr.b abn ydy. ...	Skin with a stone he scraped ...
yšu.gh.wyṣḫ	He lifted up his voice and cried:
bʿl.mt. my.lim	"Baal is dead; what will become of the people,
bn dgn.my.hmlt.	Son of Dagon, what of the multitude?
aṯr bʿl.ard.barṣ	After Baal I will descend to earth" ...

Third, the account of Anat (*KTU* 1.5 VI 26-1.6 I 8) who goes through much the same procedure as El and, like him, says at the end, *aṯr bʿl.wrd.barṣ*, "After Baal we would go down to earth"; and

Finally *KTU* 1.161: 13-26:

13) *ksi.nqmd[.] t*b*k*y**	O throne of Niqmadu, weep,
14) *w.ydmʿ.h*dm.p*ʿnh*	And let shed tears its footstool,
15) *lpnh.ybky.ṯlḫn.ml[k*	Before it weeps the kin[g's] table,
16) *w.yblʿ.udmʿth*	Which swallows its tears.
17) *ʿdmt.w. ʿdmt.ʿdmt*	Nothingness, complete nothingness!
18) *išḫn.špš. w.išḫn*	Burn, O Shapshu, and burn.
19) *nyr.rbt.ʿln.špš.tṣḫ*	Luminary, Great Lady, Shapshu, from on high cries:
20) *aṯr[.bʿl]k.l.ksh./ aṯr*	"After your [l]ord, O throne, / After
21) *bʿlk.arṣ.rd./ arṣ*	your lord to earth descend, / To earth
22) *rd.w.špl.ʿpr./ tḥt*	descend and be low in the dust./ Under
23) *sdn.w.rdn./ tḥt.ṯr*	Sdn–w–rdn, / Under Ṯr–

24) *ʿilmn./tḥt.rpim. qdmy*m*	ʿIlmn, / Under the ancient Rephaim,
25) *tḥt.ʿmṯtmr.mlk*	Under ʿAmiṯtamru the king,
26) *tḥm.u.nq[md].mlk*	Under, yea, Niq[madu] the king."

The important thing to note about the context of these passages is simple. In each of the four passages cited above a twofold pattern emerges: (1) the mournful figures (respectively, Jacob, El, Anat, and the throne) first employ stereotypical acts of mourning; and (2) in every case, the mourner concludes the period of mourning in exactly the same way, *through the expression of intent that the mourning figure descend to the netherworld to be with the one for whom they mourn.* To state the argument in a different way, in light of the first three texts cited above, can there be any doubt that the pattern is kept in the fourth case as well and that here, too, in *KTU* 1.161 there is the expression of intent that the figure which mourns (in this case the throne; cf. lines 13-16) will descend to the netherworld to be with its loved one or *bʿl*, "lord / owner"? We think not. The desire to join the departed in the netherworld is a hope expressed in the case of Jacob, El, and Anat, but realized by ritual means in the case of the throne in *KTU* 1.161.

That in each of the four cases above, mourning ends with the wish that the mourner join the departed in the netherworld suggests that we have here another overlooked mourning rite. To judge from these four cases, a "final step" in mourning is the expression of desire to follow after the departed into the netherworld.

Conclusions

1. To return to the purpose with which this paper began, the comparative evidence together with the comparison of the four texts cited immediately above virtually proves, we be-

lieve, that the Ugaritic funerary ritual *KTU* 1.161 included a rite in which the king's throne was bidden to follow its owner / lord into the netherworld. The reason for this was apparently rooted in the belief that chairs were badly needed in the netherworld (they were a luxury no king would want to be without). Thus, in keeping with the hope that the assembled shades would bless the new king and Ugarit, Niqmadu's throne was bidden to descend to the netherworld where, quite naturally, it was to go *tḥt*, "under," him and selected others assembled[51] who might appreciate a place to sit as well.[52]

2. Assuming that we now have a funerary ritual in which a west–semitic king is provided with a throne for the netherworld, new light is shed on the probable background to the statement in Isa 14:9b-c: *ʿôrēr lĕkā rĕpāʾîm, kol–ʿattūdê ʾereṣ, hēqîm mikkisʾôtām, kōl malĕkê gôyîm*, "It [Sheol] incites the Rephaim, / All the leaders of the earth; / It raises from their thrones / All the kings of the nations." *KTU* 1.161 provides strong support for the view that the thrones

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51 As virtually every interpreter of the text has noted, it is curious that not all of those mentioned at the beginning of the text are named at the end of the text. Since the text mentions only the last five parties summoned (excluding the repeated refrain concerning the Rephaim of earth and assembly of *ddn*) the following statement concerning the cult of dead kin in Mesopotamia might be relevant in spite of the fact that *KTU* 1.161 does not deal with private persons: "It must be emphasized that there is absolutely no evidence of the cult being observed for ascendants further back than the grand–parents among private persons" (Bayliss, "Cult of Dead Kin," 121).

52 It is of course impossible to judge from the text how this was thought to be accomplished. Although the text as it reads deals more with the throne than any other item in the ritual and thus underlines the importance of the connection between thrones and the royal dead, it should not be assumed too quickly that the throne was all important. For example, as M. Dijkstra has noted ("Once Again: The Closing Lines of the Baal Cycle," *UF* 17 [1985] 151), the invitation by Shapshu for the throne to go to the netherworld may be a euphemistic way of inviting the assembled company to depart — the Late–Bronze–Age equivalent to "here's your hat, what's your hurry?"!

which the writer of Isa 14:9 perceives the kings of the nations to have in the netherworld were probably provided in a similar kind of royal funerary ritual.[53]

3. The comparison of four parallels noted above also sheds new light on the significance of Jacob's statement in Gen 37:35. Jacob's statement *ʾērēd ʾel bĕnî ʾābēl šĕʾōlâ*, "I will descend to my son, mourning, in Sheol," is an expression of mourning found at the end of mourning rites and (to judge from the three Ugaritic parallels) appears to be typical for the Late–Bronze Age. The Ugaritic parallels thus suggest a Late–Bronze–Age date for the expression and vindicate the Hebrew writer in his placement of this sentence at the end of the description of Jacob's mourning.

4. That a phrase expressing the mourner's intent to join the departed in the netherworld is reflected in all four cases and at the end of the process of lamentation welcomes the judgment that an expression of intent to join the departed in the netherworld is in fact a traditional "last step" in mourning.

5. That *KTU* 1.5 VI 11-14, Isa 47:1 and Ezek 26:15-16 involve an initial descent from the throne in mourning permits the judgment that the mourning process began with getting off one's throne, probably as a way of sympathizing with the naturally chairless state of the dead. That in all the cases cited the first step involved a ruler (or, in the case of El, a god) suggests that descent from the throne might have been a traditional "first step" of royal mourning.

Peter C. Craigie, to whose memory this study is offered, was a truly exceptional man. He will long be remembered fondly as an outstanding churchman, scholar, husband,

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53 Moreover, that Isa 14:9 notes that "all" the kings of the nations rose from their thrones suggests that this practice now attested at Ugarit was *perhaps* quite common. Without more evidence, however, the suggestion that the practice was widespread must be regarded as simply a hypothesis.

father, and administrator. It was my great privilege to know him as a teacher and a friend.

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SOME ADDITIONAL WORD PAIRS

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Introductory Remarks

The study of word pairs continues apace. Recently, certain landmarks have been set; these include the appearance of *RSP III*, with its chapter on word pairs, the listings by Avishur of word pairs in different Semitic languages[1] and, at the theoretical level, Berlin's appraisal of word pairs in terms of linguistic theory.[2] All these have been discussed and reviewed elsewhere so that there is no need for more than a reminder here. However, particular mention must be made of Peter Craigie who, in a number of studies[3] evaluated the phenomenon of word pairs with special reference to the writings of M. Dahood. Craigie wanted to determine the degree to which word pairs were peculiar to Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetry. He showed, in fact, that while Ugaritic and Hebrew did have a number of word pairs in common (which

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1 Y. Avishur, *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures* (AOAT 210; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1984) with extensive bibliography.

2 A. Berlin, "Parallel Word Pairs: A Linguistic Explanation," *UF* 15 (1983) 7-16; id., *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985) 64-72.

3 P.C. Craigie, "A Note on 'Fixed Pairs' in Ugaritic and Early Hebrew Poetry," *JTS* 22 (1971) 140-43; id., "Parallel Word Pairs in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5)," *JETS* 20 (1977) 15-22; id., "Parallel Word Pairs in Ugaritic Poetry: A Critical Evaluation of their Relevance for Ps 29," *UF* 11 (1979) 135-40; id., "The Problem of Parallel Word Pairs in Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetry," *Semitics* 5 (1979) 48-58.

was to be expected in any case because they are cognate languages), they also shared word pairs with poetry in other language traditions.[4] In addition, several isolated studies have been made, which again need not be listed here.[5]

In this paper I wish to set out further examples of word pairs common to two or more ancient Semitic (Near Eastern) languages as a sort of supplement to Avishur's valuable encyclopaedic work. These word pairs have been collected over the years and though some are less certain than others they have all been included as material for better evaluation.

Professor Berlin has shown that in essence word pairs are simply a form of word association.[6] To use her own explanation, "It is not word pairs that create parallelism. It is parallelism that activates word pairs."[7] Previously, Craigie had already expressed the same opinion: "Once thought parallelism is chosen as the mode for poetic expression, *in-*

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[4] For example: "From this type of data [i.e. same semantic word pair in Akkadian, Arabic and Egyptian], it might be assumed that in the poetry of any langauge in which parallelism is employed, parallel word pairs will appear, and that a degree of commonality in human experience, and therefore in human poetry, will contribute to *common* parallel word pairs in the poetry of various languages. If this argument is correct, then one is left with the strong possibility that common parallel word pairs arise independently in various languages and the prior question pertains to the origin of parallelism as such: once parallelism is employed, common parallel word pairs are to be expected" ("Ugarit and the Bible," *Ugarit in Retrospect* [ed. D. Young; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981] 105-6).

[5] See the bibliography in W.G.E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (JSOTSS 26; Sheffield: JSOT, 1984) 143-44; ibid., (2d ed., 1986), 457.

[6] Berlin, "Word Pairs"; id., *Dynamics*. See, previously, S. Geller, *Parallelism in Early Hebrew Poetry* (HSS 20; Missoula: Scholars, 1979) 31-41.

On word association see S.J. Lieberman, *The Sumerian Loanwords in Old-Babylonian Akkadian* (HSS 22; Missoula: Scholars, 1977) 49-54, 559-65.

[7] Berlin, "Word Pairs," 16 (=*Dynamics* , 79.)

evitably common parallel word pairs must be employed"[8] Identifying word pairs is not only important for the better understanding of verse, it also provides us with better insight into the languages concerned, an insight all the more valuable, I may add, since these languages are now dead.[9] Berlin adds: "Not only should we continue to collect them [i.e. word pairs], but we should document their frequencies and patterns to the extent that textual remains permit."[10] Prompted by her comment, my main intention has been to provide material for further study. I have made no more than passing reference to the different categories of word pair established by Berlin — lexical, grammatical, semantic, etc. — though, as she has shown, these classifications are extremely important.

Since several languages are involved (Akkadian [Assyro-Babylonian, etc.], Aramaic, Hebrew and Ugaritic) it has seemed simpler to list the word pairs in translation in the alphabetic order of the first component.

List of Word Pairs

1. Arrow // Slingstone

The comparison between Ugaritic *qšt wql*ʿ[11] and what appear to be the same terms in Job 41:20 made in *RSP I*[12]

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8 Craigie, "Word Pairs in the Song of Deborah," 22.

9 On the distinction between dead and living languages see Lieberman, *Loanwords*, 18-21, esp. p. 20 n. 50.

10 Berlin, "Word Pairs," 16 (=*Dynamics* , 79).

11 Occurrences: *KTU* 4.63 (passim); 4.76:9; 4.205:10; 4.453:3; 4.624 (passim). On *KTU* 4.63 cf. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Die Baʿal-Titel *bʿl arṣ* und *aliy qrdm*," *UF* 12 (1980) 391.

12 Fisher, *RSP I*, 334, # 507.

was strongly criticized by reviewers.[13] They pointed out that the Ugaritic terms occur only in administrative texts, so that there is no question of a poetic word pair and that in any case, Ugaritic *qlʿ* means "shield" whereas the Hebrew term *qlʿ* (used in the Job passage) means "sling." In truth, matters are rather more complex than would appear at first sight.

Before turning to the text from Job we must first re-examine the Ugaritic word *qlʿ*. In a recent study, Eichler[14] agrees that Ugaritic *qlʿ* with the equivalent *kabābu*, "shield," in the total(s) of certain Ugaritic texts does not mean "shield" — as argued by Landsberger[15] and Grafman[16] independently. However, the term (*qlʿ*) is not a loan from Egyptian, even though this is the common opinion. Instead, the reverse holds true: Egyptian *qrʿw* (Coptic *gl*) is borrowed from Semitic and besides, is not the normal word for "shield" in Egyptian.[17] On the other hand, Hebrew *qelaʿ* definitely means "sling" (1 Sam 17:50, etc.). Eichler argues that the common denominator is the verb *qlʿ*, "to twist, plait"; it describes both the plaiting together of materials to make a protective cover (Ugaritic *qlʿ*, "shield"; Hebrew *qelaʿ*, "curtain" as in Exod 27:9, etc. [plur. only]) and the twisting of a sling

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13 E.g. S.E. Loewenstamm, "Ugarit and the Bible [Loren R. Fisher (Editor), Ras Shamra Parallels. Vol. I]," *Bib* 56 (1975) 111; P. van der Lugt and J.C. de Moor, "The Spectre of Pan-Ugaritism," *BO* 31 (1974) 21.

14 B.L. Eichler, "Of Slings and Shields, Throw-Sticks and Javelins," *JAOS* 103 (1983) 95-102, esp. pp. 95-96.

15 B. Landsberger, "Akkadisch *aspu*= 'Schleuder,' *assukku*= 'Schleuderstein,'" *AfO* 18 (1957-58) 379 n. 8. See also his "Nachtrag zu *aspu*= 'Schleuderstein,'" *AfO* 19 (1959-60) 66.

16 R. Grafman, apud A.F. Rainey, "The Military Personnel of Ugarit," *JNES* 24 (1965) 22 n. 97.

17 So Eichler, "Slings and Shields," 96 n. 11. In Middle Egyptian the term for "shield" is *ỉ'km* (as listed in D. Shennum, *English-Egyptian Index of Faulkner's Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Aids and Research Tools in Ancient Near Eastern Studies 1; Malibu: Undena, 1977] 138).

in the act of flinging slingstones (as in Judg 20:16).[18] If he is correct, then the suggested comparison is not so far-fetched after all.

This leads us to inspect Job 41:20.

l'-ybryḥnw bn-qšt	An ARROW cannot make him flee,
lqšnhpkw-lw 'bny-ql'	as chaff are SLINGSTONES deflected by him.

To be accurate, the word pair here is not *qšt//ql'* but *bn-qšt*, "son of a bow" [i.e. an arrow]*//'bny-ql'*, "slingstones," a point unnoticed by reviewers. The alliteration, of course, is marked.[19]

A better parallel occurs in *KTU* 1.14 III 12-14:[20]

ḥṣk.al.tš'l qrth	Do not loose your ARROW(S) at the city,

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18 Again, following Eichler, "Slings and Shields," 96 n. 11.

19 A combination of lexical word pair and sound pairing is involved. Relevant are stanzas 12 and 13 of Eleazar ben Kallib's poem "The Battle between Behemoth and Leviathan" (available in *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* [ed. T. Carmi; Harmondsworth: Allen Lane and Penguin Books, 1981] 227-32):

> They shoot ARROWS (*hiṣṣê qešet*) at him,
> but no ARROW (*ben-qešet*) can put him to flight,
> bronze to him is rotten wood.
>
> They SLING STONES at him (*wîqalle'û bô 'ăbānîm*) huge as rocks,
> but SLINGSTONEs (*'abnê qela'*) turn to chaff on him.
> Then, seized with rage, he rears about to slaughter them.
> (Carmi's translation, p. 230; my emphasis and lineation.)

20 See already M.H. Lichtenstein, "The Poetry of Poetic Justice: A Comparative Study in Biblical Imagery," *JANESCU* 5 (1973) 261 who also refers to 1 Chr 12:2 and 2 Chr 26:15.

abn. ydk mšdpt	(nor) your SLINGSTONES.[21]

2. To Bite//To Sting

One of the features shared by Prov 23:29-35 and an Assyrian incantation against *šimmatu*[22] is the word pair "to

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21 The term *mšdpt* could have one of the following meanings.

(a) "thrown" (Š of *ndp*) — F. Rosenthal, "Die Parallelstellen in den Texten von Ugarit," *Or* 8 (1939) 222, followed by G.R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Old Testament Studies 3; Edinburgh: Clark, 1978) 157 and 157 n. 18; A. Caquot, M. Sznycer and A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques. Tome 1 Mythes et légendes* (Paris: Du Cerf, 1974) 522 n. p and 594. G. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaan según la tradición de Ugarit* (Fuentes de la Ciencia Biblica 1; Madrid: Institución San Jerónimo, 1981) 588, etc.

(b) "throwing" (Š participle of *ndp*) — J.C. de Moor and K. Spronk, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Kirtu (I)," *UF* 14 (1982) 167.

(c) "raised ready for hurling" (Š of *dp*) — J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin: Akademie, 1963) 81.

(d) "citadel" or the like — so J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1978) 152 (he cites Arabic *sadafu*, "object seen from afar").

(e) "burnt" (root *šdp*) — M. Dahood, "Honey that Drips: Notes on Proverbs 5, 2-3," *Bib* 54 (1973) 382-83, but cf. his *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1965) 73. (Cf. Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos*, 628.)

Of these, the best is (b); de Moor and Spronk comment: "We regard *mšdpt* as a feminine Š, complementing *yd* 'the stones of your throwing-hand', *i.e.* your slingstones" ("Problematical Passages," 167). A completely different analysis is provided by Loewenstamm, "Ugarit and the Bible," 112-13; according to him, the *yd* of *abn yd* does not mean "hand" but derives from *ydy*, "to throw." (He cites Num 35:18.) However, as de Moor and Spronk point out ("Problematical Passages," 167 n.117) this leaves *mšdpt* unexplained.

22 O.R. Gurney and P. Hulin, *The Sultantepe Tablets II* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1964) pl. 148 and parallels,

bite"//"to sting" predicated of animals. In the incantation, the disease (some kind of poisoning which results in paralysis)[23] is apostrophized as follows:

taššuki ṣirāniš tazquti zuqaqī pāniš
You BITE like a serpent, you STING like a scorpion.[24]

In Prov 23:32 the effects of over-imbibing are described, including:

'ḥrytw knḥš yšk kṣp'ny yprš
Ultimately, it will BITE like a serpent, it will STING like a snake.

Both sets of paired similes use alliteration, and onomatopoeia.[25] The connection between wine and poison recurs in Deut 32:32-33.

3. Bone//Flesh

The collocation *'ṣm wbśr*, "bone and flesh" — always with a pronominal suffix — occurs in Gen 29:14; Judg 9:2; 2 Sam 5:1; 19:13, 14; Ps 102:6; 1 Chr 11:1. The "normal" word pair, *'ṣm//bśr*, is used in Gen 2:23; Ezek 24:4 (cf.10); Job 2:5; 4:14-15 and Sir 30:14.[26] The inverted sequence (*bśr//'ṣm*) appears in Exod 12:46; Mic 3:2-3; Ps 38:4; Job 19:20; 33:21; Prov 14:30 (cf. 3:8) and Lam 3:4.[27] These texts show that the expression (or word pair) can have one of three meanings.[28]

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as presented by W. von Soden, "Duplikate aus Ninive," *JNES* 33 (1974) 341-43.

23 "Eine auch Lähmungen auslösende innere Vergiftung" according to von Soden, "Duplikate," 341; cf. "Lähmung, Paralyse" in *AHW*, 1238a.

24 Gurney and Hulin, *Sultantepe Tablets*, 136:33-34 (and parallels).

25 See my comments (on Prov 23:32) in Watson, *Guide*, 27.

26 Distant parallelism is in Isa 66:14b and 17b; Ps 109:18b and 24b.

27 For distant parallelism, see Isa 58:7d, 11c; Job 21:6b, 24b.

28 For the second term see A.F.L. Beeston, "One Flesh," *VT* 36 (1986) 115-17 and S. Abir, "Was kann die anthropologische בשר —

(1) *kinship* — in the form "my/your/his bone and my/your/his flesh" wherever it occurs (except for Ps 102:6 discussed below), including Gen 2:23:

> *z't hp'm 'ṣm m'ṣmy wbśr mbśry*
> Now this one, at last is BONE from my BONES and FLESH from my FLESH.

(2) *food*, as in the overt references of Ezek 24:4, 10,[29] Mic 3:2-3 and in particular, Exod 12:46. This last passage is the passover injunction which stipulates that the lamb has to be eaten within a single house and also *l'-twṣy' mn-hbyt mn-hbśr ḥwṣh w'ṣm l' tšbrw-bw*, "Do not take any of the FLESH outside the house and do not break a BONE of (in?) it."

(3) *one's physical body* — always as a word pair (Ps 38:4; Job 2:5; 4:14-15; 19:20;[30] 33:21; Lam 3:4 and Sir 30:14. Note, for example, Job 33:21:

ykl bśrw mr'y	Consumed is his FLESH from sight,
wšpy 'ṣmtyw l' r'w	and his unseen BONES are laid bare.[31]

The same semantic word pair is also used in Akkadian incantations against "fire," probably some sort of fever. One passage runs:

> Fire! Fire, fire [of . .]., fire of [.]..,
> that eats FLESH (*šīrī*), that consumes BONE (*eṣemta*),
> whose environs(?) are sinews:
> Instead of eating FLESH (*šīrī*),
> instead of consuming BONE (*eṣemta*),

Konzeption zur Deutung der Urgeschichte beitragen?" *ZAW* 98 (1986) 179-86.

29 The usage here is allegorical.

30 For the problems of this text cf. M. Pope, *Job* (AB 15; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965) 133.

31 Following Pope, *Job*, 215 and 219.

[(...)] and having sinews for your environs(?),...[32]

All the more curious, then, is the presence of the word pair with pronominal suffixes in Ps 102:6 ("my BONE sticks to my FLESH")[33] where the meaning is the physical body of the psalmist (meaning 3 above) but the form used fits meaning 1 above (i.e. kinship).

4. Death (To Die)//Destiny[34]

Although the similarity between *KTU* 1.17 VI 35-36 and Num 23:10 has been remarked on[35] the use of a word pair common to both texts has not. In Num 23:10

tmt npšy mwt yšry-m	May I myself die the DEATH of an upright man.
wthy ʾḥryty kmhw	May my DESTINY be like his.[36]

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32 Text and translation: W. G. Lambert, "Fire Incantations," *AfO* 23 (1970) 42; on p. 44 he cites the similar passage (*Ugaritica V*, 17 rev. 24' [pp. 32 and 34]; cf. *CAD K*, 243a. Note the same pair in R.C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts* (London: Reprint from Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, 1924-26) 28, 1 iv 3 (etc.): *daltu šīru sikkūru eṣemtu*, "the FLESH is the door, the BONE is the bolt." In the light of the first two texts the restoration proposed for 1QH VIII 30-31 looks very probable: "My wound breaks out like burning fire, ...[my BON]ES."

33 The text is difficult; see Dahood, *Psalms III* (AB 17A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1970) 12-13 for a possible solution.

34 Ugaritic *uḫryt*, Hebrew *ʾaḥărît* and Akkadian *aḫrâtu* mean both "future" and "progeny." (For the Akkadian word, see *CAD* A/1, 193b-94 and texts cited there.) See, in addition, S.D. Sperling, "A šu-íl-lá to Ishtar," *WO* 12 (1981) 16-17 on *šimtu* and related terms for "fate, destiny."

35 For example, Gibson, *Myths and Legends*, 109 n.9.

36 For the enclitic (emphatic) *-m* on *yšr-m* see, conveniently M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980) 186-87 (with refs.)

the word pair is *mwt*//*ʾḫryty* (strictly speaking, *mwt yšry-m*//*ʾḫryty*). This word pair, reversed, occurs in *KTU* 1.17 VI 35-38 not in consecutive lines but in the form of distant parallelism[37] over a stanza of six lines:

(a)	*mt. uḫryt. mh yqḥ*	A man as (his) DESTINY what does he achieve?
	mh. yqḥ. mt. aṯryt	What does a man get in the end?
(b)	*spsg. ysk* [*ḥ*]*riš.*	Glaze(?) will be poured on my head,
	ḥrṣ. lẓr. qdqdy	Lime(?) on top of my skull.
(a')	[*w*]*mt. kl. amt.*	And the DEATH of everyone shall I die;
	wan. mtm. amt	Yes, I will certainly die.[38]

The six-line stanza comprises three couplets, marked (a), (b) and (a'), where the first matches the last (*chiasmus*). The term *uḫryt* of couplet (a) and the first *mt* of the corresponding couplet (a') form a word pair in distant parallelism.

It is no great surprise that cognate terms co-occur in both the Aramaic grave inscriptions from Nerab.[39] The final

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37 On this form of parallelism see D. Pardee, "Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetry: Parallelism," (paper read at the First International Symposium on the Antiquities of Palestine, Aleppo, 20-25 September, 1980 [in press]).

38 This is not the place to discuss difficult *spsg* and *ḥrṣ*. For the problems of the passage see most recently K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (AOAT 219; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986) 152. Unlike Spronk, who, following Healey, translates *mh yqḥ*, "what takes (it [=Death]) away?" I prefer to translate "what does he (=a man) achieve?" The expression *minû ilqe*, "what did he achieve?" used in Akkadian wisdom texts (Lambert, *Wisdom Literature*, 240: ii 22-23 and Sargon Legend ii 5-6 [both cited by J. Westenholz, Review of B. Lewis, *The Sargon Legend: A Study of the Akkadian Text and the Tale of the Hero Who Was Exposed at Birth*, *JNES* 43 (1984) 77] seems to support this. (Note, in addition, *balāṭa ša lā namāri ana mūti* [variant *miti*] *mina utter*, "What profit has life without light over death?" [RS 25.130 =*Ugaritica V*, 164:13'//14' (bilingual) on which cf. *Ugaritica V*, 293 and *CAD N*/1, 210a.])

39 See conveniently J.C.L. Gibson, *Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*,

curse of Nerab ii concludes: "May Sahar, Nikkal and Nusk

yhb'šw mmtth w'ḥrth t'bd
make his DYING odious and may his POSTERITY perish."

Here the word pair is *mmtt-//'ḥrt-*. Identical terms recur in lines 4 and 8 of the same inscription. This corresponds to Nerab i 2 (*mt*) and 13 (*'ḥrh*).

5. Far//Near

Del Olmo Lete has discussed occurrences of this pair (*rḥq//qrb*) in Ugaritic and Hebrew.[40] In addition the same semantic pair is used in Babylonian incantation prayers as part of a formula which has two forms, as Mayer has shown:[41]

(a) *rūqiš alsika qerbiš šimanni*	from FAR OFF I call to you, hear me CLOSE to;
(b) *alsika rūqiš šimanni qerbiš*	I call to you from aFAR, hear me CLOSE to.

6. Fat//Blood

Whenever it occurs in Hebrew in collocation or as a word pair, the set *dm* + *ḥlb* has a sacrificial connotation. This is evident in texts such as Lev 3:4, 17; 7:22-27, 33; Exod 29:12, 13, 20-22, as well as in the P passages Ezek 44:7, 15, etc. All these (as well as 2 Chr 35:10, 14 — Passover regulations) use "fat" and "blood" in juxtaposition and are intended to be understood literally. Of the passages where these two terms comprise a word pair, only Exod

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Vol.2, Aramaic Inscriptions (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975) 93-98.

40 G. Del Olmo Lete, "Algunos pares ugarítco-hébreos preteridos," *Aula Orientalis* 2 (1984) 19 §65.

41 W. Mayer, *Untersuchungen zur Formensprache der babylonischen "Gebetsbeschwörungen"* (Studia Pohl, Ser. Maj. 5; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1976) 130 (Type 3).

23:18 is a ritual regulation (and cf. Lev 3:17 cited above). Elsewhere, in Isa 1:11; 34:6-7 and Ezek 39:19, the aspect of sacrifice is figurative only. In Isa 34:6-7 the word pair recurs three times:

> Yahweh has a sword coated with BLOOD,
> made greasy with FAT,
>
> with the BLOOD of lambs and goats,
> with the FAT of rams' kidneys,
>
> for it is Yahweh's sacrifice in Bozrah,
> and a great slaughter in the land of Edom.
>
> Wild oxen shall go down with them,
> and steers with the mighty bulls.
>
> Their land shall drink deep of BLOOD,
> and their dust shall be greasy with FAT.[42]

The imagery is clear: the officials and nobles of Edom will be put to the sword just like animals slaughtered for sacrifice.[43]

Again in Ezek 39:19, the context is one of sacrifice, this time a macabre sacrificial feast, to which the birds and the beasts are invited.

> You shall eat FAT to satiety,
> you shall drink BLOOD to a stupor
> at my sacrifice which I have sacrificed for you.

Accordingly, sacrificial connotations may have determined the choice of this word pair in 2 Sam 1:21a-22:

> For there was defiled
> the Heroes' Shield, Saul's Shield
> — not by anointing with oil (but) —

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42 These data should be added to M. Pope's detailed study "Isaiah 34 in Relation to Isaiah 35, 40-66," *JBL* 71 (1952) 235-43.

43 On the metaphorical use of animal names cf. Miller, "Animal Names as Designations in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *UF* 2 (1970) 177-86. Also, S. Gevirtz, "Simeon and Levi in the 'Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. 49:5-7)," *HUCA* 52 (1981) 96.

by the BLOOD of the slain, by the FAT of Heroes.[44]

Confirmation comes from Isa 1:11, (with *ḥlb//dm*), where the context, once again is a sacrifice.

7. Gather//Seal

This word pair appears to have been identified by Cohen as common to Deut 32:34 and a passage from the Assyrian folktale "The Poor Man of Nippur."[45]

hl'-hw' kms 'mdy ḥtwm b'wṣrwty
See, I have GATHERED it with me(?), SEALED in my storehouses.

G-N šitta eṣṣūrāti ibāramma	G-N caught two birds,
ikmis ana quppima iktanak	GATHERED into a cage,
kišippiš	SEALED with a seal.[46]

In both examples, incidentally, the word pair occurs in a line with inner (half–line) parallelism.

8. Heavens//Earth

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44 Similar use of *min* occurs in Cant 1:2. The interpretation proposed here was given by W.G.E. Watson, "Chiastic Patterns in Biblical Hebrew Poetry," *Chiasmus in Antiquity* (ed. J.W. Welch; Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981), 138 and 164 n.20 and, independently, by J. Wansbrough, "Hebrew Verse: Scansion and Parallax," *BSOAS* 45 (1982) 10. It is not discussed by P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel* (AB 9; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984) 66-79, esp. 76.

45 H.R. (Chaim) Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* (SBLDS 37; Missoula: Scholars, 1978) 39.

46 O.R. Gurney and J.J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets I* (London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1957) 38:85-86, with the reading proposed by E. Reiner, "Another Volume of Sultantepe Tablets," *JNES* 26 (1967) 183 n. 7 and *CAD* K, 115, 451 (as noted by Cohen, *Hapax Legomena*, 63 n. 90).

This lexical word pair has been very fully doumented for several languages by Avishur[47] but two additional observations can be made. One is that the Ugaritic expression *tant šmm ʿm arṣ*, "heavens' groaning with the earth" (*KTU* 1.3 III 24, etc.) is like a line from the Epic of Gilgamesh:

> *ilsu šamê qaqqaru īpul*
> The HEAVENS shouted, respond did the EARTH.[48]

Also, the same word pair in the form *šamāmu//erṣetu*, is significant in the Great Hymn to Shamash, lines 1-33[49] where it is used in combination with *eliš u sapliš*, "above and below."[50]

9. Heir//Name

The epilogue to the Code of Hammurabi includes among its final curses called down on anyone replacing the lawgiver's name with his own:

> May Nintu, eminent Lady of the lands, the mother
> who created me, deprive him of an HEIR (*aplu*) and not
> allow him to obtain a NAME (*šumu*); may she not create
> a child (literally, human seed) in the womb of his people.[51]

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47 Avishur, *Word-Pairs*, indices. Note also Craigie's comments in "Word Pairs in the Song of Deborah," 18-19 on this word pair in Hebrew, Ugaritic, Akkadian, Arabic and Egyptian.

48 Gilgamesh Epic VII iv 15. Text: J.H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1982) 285, who follows B. Landsberger, "Zur vierten und siebten Tafel des Gilgamesch — Epos," *RA* 62 (1968) 129-130 and cites the slight variant in Gilg. Ur 61. Translation: ibid., p. 124.

49 Lambert, *Wisdom Literature*, 126-29.

50 Another occurrence is W. Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale an Ishtar und Dumuzi:: attī Ištar ša ḫarmaša Dumuzi* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977) 240-41 (B 40').

51 Code of Hammurab/pi, Epilogue (col. 51 [Rev. 28] 40-49); cf. A. Finet, *Le Code de Hammurapi* (Paris: Cerf, 1973) 145-46 for a recent translation.

It is not accidental, therefore, that Isaiah 14, which has overt references to Babylon and to Assyria, includes a slightly expanded version of the word pair "heir//name" in v. 22:

> I will rise up against them
> (oracle of Yahweh sebaoth)
> and cut off from Babylon
> NAME and remnant, OFFSPRING and posterity.

The stock alliterative expression of the last line (*šm wšʾr//nyn wnkd*; Gen 21:23; Sir 47:22b) has itself been productive of other word pairs.[52]

10. Hem // Fringe

In Mesopotamian texts the normal word pair or collocation is "hem and hair" as symbols of a person.[53] The following word pair, therefore, is unusual:

> *aṣbat qannakama ukīl sissiktaka*
> I hereby grasp your HEM and hold back your FRINGE.[54]

It occurs in Ugaritic, too, and as in the Babylonian passage, the context is one of pleading:

tiḫd.mt bsin.lpš.	She seized Mot by the HEM of the robe,

52 Note the break-up of *nyn wnkd* in Job 18:19 and Sir 41:5 both times connected by distant parallelism with *šm* (Job 18:17 and Sir 41:14). In Zeph 1:4 *šm wšʾr* is broken up and inverted.

53 See *CAD S*, 323-25 for occurrences and discussion.

54 Dumuzi 3:13; text and translation in Mayer, *Untersuchungen*, 258-59. He also explains the meaning of this formula (pp. 128, 143-44, 147-49). For the terms *qarru* and *sissiktu* see now M. Malul, "'*Sissiktu*' and '*sikku*' — Their Meaning and Function," *BO* 43 (1986) 20-36.

tšṣqn[h] bqṣ.all	She grasped him by the FRINGE of (his) garment.[55]

More accurately, both word pairs are compound and comprise the two elements "TO HOLD (verb)" + "EDGE OF APPAREL (noun)."

11. Horns//Tail

In the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.114, the god El is portrayed as drunk enough to soil himself and in that state he meets the *bʿl qrnm wḏnb*, "the creature with two horns and a tail" (line 20).[56] This description is very like two lines from an incantation against *šimmatu* (see above under "To Bite//To Sting"):

tamḫaṣi ina qarniki	you strike with your HORNS,
tušardi ina zibbatiki	you spray (dung) with your TAIL.[57]

It would seem that Prov 23:29-35, *KTU* 1.114 and the incantation against *šimmatu* have several elements in common. In view of the scarcity of comparative material[58] further study should take this into account (see further under Conclusions).

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55 *KTU* 1.6 II 9-11. Cf. E. Greenstein, "'To Grasp the Hem' in Ugaritic Literature," *VT* 32 (1982) 217-18. Also, especially for the meaning of *all*, S. Ribichini, and P. Xella, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit* (Collezione di Studi fenici 20; Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1985) 28-29 where this passage is discussed. (Cf. also P.S. Kruger, "The Hem of the Garment in Marriage. The Meaning of the Symbolic Gesture in Ruth 3:9 and Ezek 16:8," *JNSL* 12 [1984] 79-86.)

56 See K.J. Cathcart and W.G.E. Watson, "Weathering a Wake: A Cure for a Carousal. A Revised Translation of *Ugaritica V* text 1," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 4 (1980) 46 for brief discussion.

57 Text: von Soden, "Duplikate," 342-43, lines 34-35.

58 See the final comment of von Soden, ibid., 344.

12. Kingdom//Dominion

In Ugaritic:

tqḫ.mlk.ʿlmk.	Take your everlasting KINGDOM,
drkt.dt.drdrk.	your eternal DOMINION.[59]

In an Assyrian prophecy:

Šarru lā tapallaḫ	King, do not worry!
Šarrūttu ikku	Yours is the KINGDOM,
dananu ikkuma	yours is the DOMINION.[60]

13. Knee//Mouth

In 1 Kgs 19:18 Elijah is told there is to be wholesale slaughter of the Israelites, but the oracle closes with a note of mercy:

> Yet I will leave seven thousand in Israel:
> every pair of KNEES (*kl-hbrkym*) which have not bent to Baal,
> and every MOUTH (*kl-hph*) which has not kissed him.[61]

The curious word pair can be explained as a form of merismus.[62]

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59 *KTU* 1.2 IV 10.

60 Text: K 4310 V 21-23, discussed (without reference to Ugaritic) by M. Weippert in *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological and Historical Analysis* (ed. F.M. Fales; Orientis Antiqui Collectio 17; Rome: Istituto Per l'Oriente, 1981) 96. See also Ps 145:13 and Dan 3:33.

61 Note the semantic pairs *krʿ*, "to bend"//*nšq*, "to kiss" (used in 1 Kgs 19:18) and *našāqu*, "to kiss"//*kamāsu*, "to kneel" (Enuma Elish III 69-70).

62 Unrelated is the same pair ("mouth"//"knees") in G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû* (*AfO* Beiheft 2; Berlin, 1937) III 50-51 (p 23).

14. Lion//Sea-Monster (Dragon)

Elsewhere I have commented on the possible similarity between Ahiqar 34 and *KTU* 1.5 I 14-16.[63] Some additional texts can be discussed here. The first comes in an oracle against Egypt (Ezek 32:2):

> Like a young LION (*kĕpîr*) among nations have you become;
> and like a DRAGON (*tnym*) in the seas you burst out in your streams (etc.).[64]

The parallelism in some lines from the Hodayoth (1QH V 9-10) is not so clear.

> You have closed the mouth(s) of young LIONS (*kpyrym*)
> whose teeth are like a sword, whose jaws are like a sharp spear;
> Poison of DRAGONS (*tnynym*) are all their plottings (etc.).[65]

Two Mesopotamian passages may also be significant.

> You become a raging LION (*nešimmî*):
> your mouth is a horned SNAKE (*bašmummî*),
> your nails are (those of) the Anzu-bird.[66]

> ...the DRAGON which turns on itself,

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63 W.G.E. Watson, "The Ahiqar Sayings: Some Marginal Comments," *Aula Orientalis* 1 (1983) 256. Unfortunately, *KTU* 1.19 IV 60-61 is too broken to be evaluated.

64 Following J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea. Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 94 and n. 24.

65 Following B. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran* (SBLDS 50; Chico: Scholars, 1981) 83, 85, 91. Also, cf. Sir 25:16 (Greek text only): *leonti kai drakonti.*

66 E.F. Weidner, "Das Alter der mittelassyrischen Gesetzestexte. Studien im Anschluss an Driver und Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*," *AfO* 13 (1939) 46 rev. ii 2-3, quoted by J.G. Westenholz, "Heroes of Akkad,"*JAOS* 103 (1983) 332. The parallelism is not strict.

strength of a LION, which sticks out its tongue towards a serpent.[67]

15. Ruin//Heap

Undeniably, the first part of Mic 1:6 is difficult:

wśmty šmrwn lʿy hśdh lmṭʿy krm

Although a translation such as "So I will make Samaria a heap of ruins in open country, a place for planting vines" (NEB) is feasible, problems remain[68] and it is possible instead that the phraseology here evokes various stock expressions used by Assyrian and Babylonian kings in their accounts of conquest. For example,

ālānišunu ana tīlim u karmim utêr
I turned their cities into HEAPS and RUINS.

The expressions follow the pattern "to turn into" (*ewû/emû, šūmû, târu/turru, šakānu, šapāku*) + "heaps of

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67 Part of a description of Ninurta. Text and translation (above): J. van Dijk, LUGAL UD ME-LÁM-bi NIR-ĜÁL. *Le récit épique et didactique des Travaux de Ninurta, du Déluge et de la nouvelle Creation, Texte, Taduction et Introduction. Tome I. Introduction texte composite. Traduction* (Leiden: Brill, 1983) 52, lines 10-11.

68 J.M.P. Smith, W.H. Ward and J.A. Bewer, *Micah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel* (ICC; New York: Scribner's, 1911): "Therefore I will turn Samaria into a field, into a planted vineyard," reading *lĕśādeh* and omitting *ʿy* as a gloss (p. 34, with reference to the versions plus other possible corrections). R. Vuilleumier in R. Vuilleumier and C.-A. Keller, *Michée, Nahoum, Habacuc, Sophonie* (Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament, 11b; Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1971) translates "*Je vais transformer Samarie en ruine/Ses environs, en terre à vigne*" (p.15) noting the correction to *lyʿr* (as in Ezek 21:2) is unnecessary and that *hśdh* , which belongs to the next line, means "surrounding country" as in Ps 78:12; Neh 11:30 etc. (p. 17 n. 7). W. Rudolph, Micha — Nahum — Habakuk — Zephanja (KAT 13/3; Gütersloh: Mohr, 1975) 33: "*So mache ich Samaria zu einem Trümmerhaufen <und seine Flur> zu Rebengelände*"; *ʿy* is explained by Arabic *ǵajaya*, "giving shade from above" and the reading followed in the second line is *wĕśādeh.*

ruins" (literally, "heaps and ruins": *tīli u karmi* — with some variations).[69] This is indicative that in Mic 1:6 *'y* corresponds to *tîlu*, "(ruin–)heap" and *krm*, like Akkadian *karmu* does not mean "vineyard" but "heap of ruins." A probable translation of Mic 1:6 then, is

> I will turn Samaria into a RUIN,
> the field(s) into plantations that are RUIN–HEAPS.[70]

This is confirmed by a line from the Epic of Erra where the pair *alu*, "city" (here plural)//*šadû*, "open country" (here collective singular) occurs:

> *ālānīšu ana karme ušadâšu tašakkan ana namè*
> Turn their cities into a RUIN, and their pastures into a waste.[71]

16. To Weep//To Bury

This word pair has been well documented[72] and on the surface does not appear to be significant since the association of mourning and internment is so commonplace. Despite this, two interesting points emerge with respect to the word pair. In adoption contracts from Nuzi (in Akkadian) clauses of the following type are used:

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69 Cf. *CAD K*, 218, and *AHW*, 1359b.

70 Note, incidentally, the break-up of *'y hśdh* (Mic 1:6) in Mic 3:12/Jer 26:18.

71 Erra V 29; text and translation: W.G. Lambert, "The Fifth Tablet of the Era Epic," *Iraq* 24 (1962) 122-23. For the meaning of *šadû(m)* cf. A. Heidel, "A Special Use of the Akkadian Term *Šadû*," *JNES* 8 (1949) 233-35; *AHW*, 1125a meaning 10; contrast L. Cagni, *L'epopea di Erra* (Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente dell'Università, 1969) 125: "le sue regioni montane"; see his comment, p. 251 as well as A. Faber, "Semitic Sibilants in an Afro-Asian Context,"*Supplement to JSS* 29 (1984) 208 entry 41.

72 Avishur, *Word-Pairs*, 558. Note, in addition, *bakû//qebēru* of Gilg. M ii 5-6 and Gilg. X v 14-15.

enūma ^{I}*pa-i-te-šup imâta u* ^{I}*ki-in-ni ibakkišu uqabbar*[*šu*]
when PN 1 dies PN 2 shall weep for him and bury [him].[73]

PN 2 (here Kinni) is the adopted son of PN 1 (Paiteshup) and in this part of the document he undertakes to bury his adopted father. Evidently, then, burial of one's father was an obligation serious enough to require mention in a legal contract.[74]

Second, it is usually the son who survives to bury his father (or adoped father). The inversion of roles is particularly highlighed in the Aqhat Tale since Dnil has to bury the very son whose filial duties included burial of his father, observance of the funeral rites and care of his tomb (cf. *KTU* 1.17 I 26-33, etc.).

17. Voice//Speech

The Ugaritic word pair *rgm //hwt* occurs several times as one of two sets:

(a)	*bph rgm lyṣa*	Scarce had a VOICE left his mouth,
	bšpt hwt	a WORD his lips.

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73 Ernest R. Lacheman, *Excavations at Nuzi. Volume 8: Family and Law Documents* (HSS 19; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962) 39:9-11; on this text and related passages see P. Skaist, "The Ancestor Cult and Succession in Mesopotamia," *Death in Mesopotamia* (ed. B. Alster; Mesopotamia 8; Copenhagen: Akademisk, 1980) 123-28, esp. 124-25 and 128 n. 14. Note also R.F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters. Volume 2* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1896) 437:15. Another text (Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi, 59:22 [from *CAD* B, 37]) is quoted by Avishur (*Word-Pairs*) but he does not comment on the context (burial obligation in an adoption contract). Relevant, too, are J.C. Greenfield's comments on burial in his paper "Ahiqar in the Book of Tobit," *De la Torah au Messie. Mélanges Henri Cazelles* (ed. J. Doré et al.; Paris: Desclee 1981) 329-36, esp. 335.

74 Of course it is normally the son who survives to bury his father. Reversal of this natural order is common to *KTU* 1.19 III 39-41 (burial of Aqhat's remains) and Erra IV 97-98.

(b) *dm.rgm.iṯ. lỵ.wargmk* For I have a "VOCIFERATION" and I'll VOICE it to you

hwt. waṯnyk a WORD and I'll repeat it to you...

The first set is really a formula which uses a word pair;[75] the second set opens a "tour."[76]

A semantically comparable word pair, *rigmu//atmu*, appears in the Babylonian Theodicy:

rigmu ul iššapu iššapil atmua
My VOICE was not raised, my SPEECH was kept low.[77]

Conclusions

Some passages can be better understood through recognition of word pairs (e.g. 2 Sam 1:21; Mic 1:6) and the meanings of some difficult words can also be established (e.g. Ugaritic *qlʿ*; Hebrew *kerem*). In addition, there are evidently more pairs common to two or more ancient Semitic languages than those so far collected. However, the differences as well as the similarities among the various traditions are important, too. While sharing common features each tradition had a character of its own, an aspect which tends to be overlooked (see word pair 13). Finally, some of the accepted word pairs may need correction (e.g. word pair 1).

Since word association is a strong element in the forma-

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75 For references cf. W.G.E. Watson, "Introduction to Discourse in Ugaritic Narrative Verse," *Aula Orientalis* 1 (1983) 260-61.

76 On tours cf. Watson, *Guide*, 349-50. Text: *KTU* 1.3 III 20-28. The tour comprises *rgm, hwt, rgm, lḫšt, rgm*. A related word pair is *tḫm*, "message"//*hwt* in *KTU* 1.3 III 13-14; VI 24-25; 1.4 VIII 32-34; 1.5 II 10-11, 17-18; 1.14 VI 40-41, etc.

77 Text and translation: Lambert, *Wisdom Literature*, 88-89, 292; see notes on pp.285 and 310.

tion of word pairs it follows that pairs common to two (or more) languages are likely to share similar contexts. The brief survey provided here shows, in fact, that such is often the case (see word pairs 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 15 and 16). It is not a matter of determining dependence or borrowing between the different traditions, though both did occur. Of more significance is the light which a word pair plus context in one tradition may throw on the context in another tradition where the same pair, or a comparable word pair, occurs.[78] Nor is etymology so important since word pairs common to two or more languages tend to be semantically similar.[79]

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78 In illustration, some elements (chiefly word pairs) common to three texts in Hebrew, Ugaritic and Akkadian which have already been touched on above under the headings "TO BITE//TO STING" and "HORNS//TAIL" can be set out as follows:

(a) you (=*šimmatu*) have darkened (*tuṭṭî*) his (facial) features
Šimmatu: 24 (cf. 27)

Who gets shadowy (*ḥkllwt*) eyes?
Prov 23:29

(b) but he who does not know him (*wdlyd'nn*) he hits on the snout under the table...
KTU 1.114:8

They hit me (*ḥlmwny*): I did not know (*yd'ty*)
Prov 23:25b

(c) you spray (dung) with your tail
Šimmatu: 35

he (=El) floundered in his own excrement and urine
KTU 1.114:21

Once the shared elements have been pointed out it may be possible to progress to better explanations of the texts.

79 In different forms this paper was read in Tübingen, at the invitation of Professor Wolfgang Röllig (Altorientalisches Seminar, Tübingen) and also at the summer meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study in Canterbury, 1987. As it now stands the paper includes corrections which derive from discussions on both these occasions. It is, of course, dedicated to the memory of Peter Craigie.

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PART C

Biblical & Theological Studies

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GENEALOGY AND HISTORY IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

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The writing of history is an attempt to organize the past in a way that may have meaning and provide value for the present.[1] In this regard, there is little difference between modern and ancient ideas of history. What difference there is lies in how the idea of history is expressed, and what particular needs are fulfilled by the writing of history. It is the thesis of this essay that the historiography of Ancient Israel may be illuminated by an analysis of how and why the Ancient Israelite manipulated genealogical information to produce a particular view of the past that conformed to his or her present need.[2]

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1 See remarks by R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York: Oxford University, 1956) 9-10.

2 For historiography in Ancient Israel see M. Burrows, "Ancient Israel," *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* ed. R.C. Dentan (New Haven: Yale, 1955) 99-131; J. Van Seters, "Histories and Historians of the Ancient Near East: The Israelites," *Orientalia* 50 (1981) 137-85; idem, *In Search of History, Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale, 1983); R.E. Friedman (ed.), *The Poet and the Historian, Essays in Literary and Historical Biblical Criticism* (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983); B. Halpern, The *Emergence of Israel in Canaan* (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983); and H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld (eds.), *History, Historiography and Interpretation, Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984). For the relationship between genealogy and history in Israel see A. Malamat, "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," *JAOS* 88 (1968) 163-73; idem, "Tribal Societies: Biblical Genealogies and African Lineage Systems," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 14 (1973) 126-36; M.D. Johnson, *The*

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The basic genealogical unit is the phrase "X son of Y" which, *sensuo stricto*, is not a genealogy. Rather, it is a simple statement of paternity, very useful for legal purposes, forms of address, and simple identification. It is a type of patronymic, not a genealogy. This phrase, however, was the basis of Israelite genealogies because (a) the patronymic was the basic unit of identification throughout the whole of the Ancient Near East,[3] and (b) Israel had a patriarchal society, which, like all patriarchal societies, held sonship to be extremely important.[4]

Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1969) 77-82; Robert R. Wilson, "The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research," *JBL* 94 (1975) 169-89; idem, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven: Yale University, 1977); idem, "Between 'Azel' and 'Azel' Interpreting the Biblical Genealogies," *BA* 42 (1979) 11-22; H.M.G. Williamson, "Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler's Genealogy of Judah," *JBL* 98 (1979) 351-59; T.J. Prewitt, "Kinship Structures and the Genesis Genealogies," *JNES* 40 (1981) 87-98; and J.W. Flanagan, "Genealogy and Dynasty in the Early Monarchy of Israel and Judah," *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982) 23-28.

3 For the earliest use of the patronymic in the Ancient Near East see E. Sollberger and J. Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales Sumeriennes et Akkadiennes* (Paris: Cerf, 1971). In Egypt, a most interesting example of the patronymic with three generations is found in R.A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (Providence: Brown University, 1962). A similar phenomenon may be present in the Old Testament in the lists of Neh 3 and Ezra 2. The use of the patronymic is ubiquitous in near eastern seals. For discussion, see G. Gorelick and E. Williams-Forte (eds.), *Ancient Seals and the Bible* (Malibu: Undena, 1983).

4 For the structure of the Israelite family see R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965); O.J. Baab, "Family," *IDB*, II, 238-41; and L.E. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," *BASOR* 260 (1985) 1-35. Contrast the Egyptian family structure

It is only when the patronymic phrase is expanded that it becomes a true genealogy. Such expansion is well attested in Mesopotamia in the royal inscriptions of the Sumerians and Akkadians,[5] in the Sumerian and Assyrian king lists,[6] and in Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions.[7] The

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that was matriarchal. See H.R. Hall, "Family (Egyptian)," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, 1912) 733-35. For the importance of sonship in Israel see Baab, "Family," 239; and I. Mendelsohn, "On the Preferential Status of the Eldest Son," *BASOR* 156 (1959) 38-39.

5 See Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales*.

6 For the Sumerian king list see T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago: UP, 1939). For Assyrian king lists see I.J. Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists," *JNES* 12 (1954) 209-30; A.K. Grayson, "Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists: Collations and Comments," *Lišān mithurti: Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden*, ed. M. Dietrich and W. Röllig (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercher, 1969) 104-18; idem, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972, 1976); B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'Dunkles Zeitalter'," *JCS* 8 (1954) 31-45, 47-73, 106-33; A.R. Millard, "Fragments of Historical Texts from Nineveh: Middle Assyrian and Later Kings," *Iraq* 32 (1970) 167-80; A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," *JNES* 1 (1942) 247-306, 460-92; idem, *JNES* 2 (1943) 56-60; W. Röllig, "Zur Typologie und Entstehung Der babylonischen und assyrischen Königlisten," *Lišān mithurti: Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden*, ed. M. Kietrich and W. Röllig (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercher, 1969) 265-77; J. Pritchard, *ANEP*, 564-66; and Wilson, "Azel," 13-28.

7 Grayson, *Royal Inscriptions*; W.W. Hallo, "Royal Inscriptions of Ur: A Typology," *HUCA* 33 (1962) 1-43; S. Langdon, *Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, Part 1 (Paris, 1905); idem *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'che, 1912); and D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylon*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1926, 1927). For genealogy and genealogical traditions found in the dynasty of the Hammurapi see J.J. Finkelstein, "The Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty," *JCS* 20 (1966) 95-118; A. Malamat, "King Lists," 163-73; W.G. Lambert, "Another Look at Hammurabi's Ancestors," *JCS* 22 (1968-1969) 1-2; and Röllig, "Zur Typologie." Genealogical traditions are found also in Babylonian Chronicle P (which interestingly is traced through the daughter of Ashuruballit, king of Assyria) and Babylonian king lists A and B (but not the synchronistic king list). For these see Grayson, "King Lists"; idem,

expansion usually took the form "X, title (or titles), son of Y," and was extended for as many as nine or ten generations,[8] though in the majority of occurrences genealogies did not extend past three generations. In all these instances, genealogy was used by the scribal school (at least until Sargon II[9]) as a means of supporting the idea of kingship.

In post-Kassite Babylon, genealogical traditions were expanded along different lines. The phrase "X son of Y" was never developed into true genealogy, but was expanded into proper name status. As Ungnad[10] and Lambert[11] have pointed out, the phrase "X *mâr* Y" in the Old Babylonian period may refer to physical or legal parentage, but in late Kassite times, it could be used also to denote an ancestor who was not a parent. From Late Babylonian times to the Parthian era, the phrase was expanded to "X *mâr-šu-ša* Y *mâr* Z," meaning "X son of Y, descendant of Z." This phrase is found in formal, especially legal and commercial, texts. Thus, the scribal school in Babylon developed the use of genealogy differently from that of the Assyrian scribal school. In Babylon, genealogy and genealogical traditions served (almost exclusively) economic and legal needs. In

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Royal Inscriptions; and L.W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, 2 vols. (London: Luzac, 1907).

8 See the genealogy of Adad-nirari II in Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, 743; and discussion by Malamat, "King Lists."

9 One wonders if, with the establishment of the Sargonid house, there was an overhaul of the government and with it, the scribal school, since the royal inscriptions in Assyria from Sargon II refer back to him when they need genealogical support, but do not use genealogical formulae as consistently or in the same manner as their predecessors. See Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*.

10 A. Ungnad, "Babylonische Familiennamen," *Miscellanea Orientalia dedicata Antonio Deimel* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute) 319-26.

11 W.G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," *JCS* 11 (1957) 1-4, 112; and idem, "Ancestors, Authors and Canonicity," *JCS* 16 (1962) 59-77.

Assyria, however, genealogy was used for the legitimation of the royal house. The difference was caused, in part, by the differing ideas of kingship,[12] and, in part, by the discontinuity of Babylonian culture brought about by the Kassite conquest.

A third type of expansion of the patronymic phrase into true genealogy occurs in Egypt. The form is best attested in the inscriptions of certain families of the first millenium B.C., and continues into Ptolemaic times.[13] The majority of these genealogies are of priestly families,[14] though others occur.[15] The patronymic is expanded in the following two ways: (a) "Title (or titles) X, son of title (or titles) Y, etc.,"[16]

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12 A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: UP, 1968) 101-106.

13 For discussion of this see D.B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970) 5-16.

14 Redford, *Story of Joseph*, 5-16; H. Kees, *Das Priestertum in ägyptischen Staat vom neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (Leiden: Brill, 1953); and idem, *Die Hohen priester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der äthiopenzeit* (Leiden: Brill, 1964).

15 G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (Cairo: Institut Français d'archaeologie orientale, 1936) 14-17; B. Bruyère, "Une nouvelle famille de prêtres de montou trouvée par Baraize à Deir el Bahri," *Annales du service des antiquites de l'Egypte* 54 (1957) 18-20; W. Spiegelberg, "The Hieratic Text in Mariette's *Karnak*, Pl. 46; A contribution to the History of the Veziers of the New Empire," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 24 (1902) 320-24; J. Yoyotte, "Les principautes de Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne," in *Mélanges Maspero*, I (Cairo, 1961) 121-81; J. Černy, "Une famille de scribes de la necropole royale de Thebes," *Chronique d'Egypte* 22 (1936) 247-50; A.M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, I (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1914); and J. Brested, *Ancient Records of Egypt* 5 vols. (Chicago: UP, 1906).

16 Posener, *La première*, 98; L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung* (Cairo: Selbstverlag, 1935) 99-100; Bruyère, "Une nouvelle," 14; J. Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires Egyptiens* (Cairo: Institut Français d'archaeologie orientale, 1954) 3-17; Yoyotte, "Le principantes," 124-28, 142-45; F. Ll. Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell el-*

and (b) "Title (or titles) X, son of the like entitled Y, etc."[17] Thus the major *formal* difference between these genealogies and their Mesopotamian counterparts is that the title *precedes* the name instead of following it.

The *content* of Egyptian genealogies is sometimes different from that found in Mesopotamian genealogies. Women are often included in Egyptian genealogies, in the roles of mother,[18] daughter,[19] (or king's daughter[20]), or mother and wife.[21] The appearance of women in genealogies is considerably different from Assyrian and Babylonian usage, there being only a few attested examples of lineage traced through female members of the family.[22]

Yehudiyeh and Miscellaneous Work in Lower Egypt During the Years 1887-1889 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1890) 62; G. Legrain, "Renseignements sur les dernières découvertes faites à Karnak," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 27 (1905) 61-82 (hereafter *RT*); idem, "Le dossier de la famille Nibnoutirou," *RT* 30 (1908) 73-90, 160-74; E. Chassinat, "Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis," *RT* 21 (1899) 56-73; idem, *RT* 22 (1900) 9-26; J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* (Cairo: 1912-1913) pl. 22; B.V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960) no. 33, pl. 31:71-73; and M. Mogensen, *La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, La collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1930) pl. 109.

17 Borchardt, *Die Mittel*, 93; E. Uphill, "The Stela of ʿAnkhefenmut," *JEA* 43 (1957) 1-2; L. Habachi, "Per-Raʿet and Per Ptah in the Delta," *Chronique d'Egypte* 42 (1967) 30-40; and Breasted, *Ancient Records*, no. 787.

18 Bruyère, "Une Nouvelle," 19, 26.

19 Ibid., 16, 18-20, 22,26.

20 Ibid., 22, 26.

21 Ibid., 22. Those genealogies that mention the mother mention her only after the paternal line is concluded. Thus, she is the mother of the first person mentioned.

22 Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales*, nos. IG1a, IIE1a, IVD1a, IIA1d, IIC4e, IIC7c, and IVBi4e; and Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, 731.

In some cases, Egyptian genealogies are expanded with a mention of the king under whom the particular individual lived and worked,[23] or the branch of the royal family into which he married.[24] This too is different from Mesopotamian usage, since for Assyria and early Babylon, genealogy appears to have been *the* province of the king.[25] In Egypt, genealogy was not necessary in establishing the authority of the king, because he was god. And since the line of succession did not have to be verified in the same way as the Assyrian counterpart, there were no genealogies in the Egyptian king lists and no royal inscriptions that make use of genealogy — though, of course, family relationships are mentioned. As Donald Redford has noted, "There is no title 'father to Pharaoh' in Egypt."[26]

II

The genealogical traditions and genealogies discussed thus far exhibit well developed and consistent patterns due to the long period of continued application of canonized forms by scribal trident. The situation is completely different with regard to Biblical genealogies. There is no established pattern, nor is there an obvious priority among the forms presented. The following forms occur in the Old Testament:

(a) X, Y, Z (e.g., 1 Chr 1:1)
(b) Sons of X were: Y, Z, etc. (e.g., 1 Chr 1:17)
(c) X, his son Y, his son Z, etc. (e.g., 1 Chr 3:10 ff.)
(d) X bore Y, Y bore Z, etc. (e.g., Gen 10:24)

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23 Borchardt, *Die Mittel*, 99.

24 Bruyère, "Une Nouvelle," 26.

25 For the rare non-royal genealogies in Mesopotamia see Sollberger and Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales* nos. IIF1a, IIA2w, IIA2y, IVF5a; and Grayson, *Royal Inscriptions*, nos. 53, 83 (?), 273-78.

26 Redford, *Story of Joseph*, 191.

(e) X bore Y title, Z title, etc. (e.g., 1 Chr 8:1-5)
(f) X son of Y, son of Z, etc, (see Table I)

Part of the difficulty, therefore, in dealing with Biblical genealogies is in analyzing the *form* before drawing any conclusions with regard to function or historicity of the data. The analysis of all Biblical genealogies, however, is beyond the scope of this short essay. Therefore, only the so-called linear genealogies will be examined, those that include only a single individual in each generation, as opposed to segmented genealogies, which trace more than one line of descent from a common ancestor.[27] These genealogies may be composed of the following units: (a) "X son of Y," (b) "A daughter of X," (c) "X son (or Daughter) of Y" with title or titles, (d) other familial relationships such as father, uncle, brother, wife, and sister. Table I presents a tabulation of these genealogies by form, function and content.

The following conclusions may be drawn from this tabulation:

1. Although they may extend to as many as twenty-three generations, the majority of these genealogies do not extend past the third generation.

2. With two exceptions,[28] all genealogies of four generations or more occur (a) in lists with other genealogical

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27 R.B. Robinson, "Literary Functions of the Genealogies of Genesis," *CBQ* 48 (1986) 597 n. 4; and Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 19-20. For discussion of other genealogies in the Old Testament see also Johnson, *The Purpose*; and Prewett, "Kinship Structures," 89-98.

28 2 Chr 20:14 purports to be the genealogy of one Jahaziel, a Levite of the sons of Asaph who delivers an oracle to King Jehoshaphat (vv. 15-17). It is not paralleled elsewhere. For discussion see J.M. Myers, *II Chronicles* (New York: Doubleday, 1965) 115-16. Jer 36:14 gives an unusual three generation genealogy that most scholars attribute to two people. See J.P. Hyatt, "The Book of Jeremiah," *IB*, V, 1066. Contrast the view of J. Bright in *Jeremiah* (New York: Doubleday, 1965) 180.

patterns in the work of the Chronicler, of (b) in narrative as an introductory pedigree[29] in books other than those of the Chronicler.

3. Pride of place is not a consideration in these genealogies. The place from which a person comes is mentioned only fourteen times, half of which are found in the work of the Chronicler.[30]

4. Genealogies of two generations occur only in narrative except for "place" genealogies mentioned in no. 3 above.[31]

5. Genealogies of three generations usually occur in narrative and are always the work of the Chronicler when they do not occur in narrative.

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29 The terminology is that of Johnson, *The Purpose*, 80. " ... isolated individual genealogies serve more to identify and enhance the stature of the individual than to legitimize him." Johnson cites (pp. 61 and 80) the Safaitic Inscriptions as a non-literary parallel.

30 The instances are 1 Chr 11:28, 30, 31, 35; 9:16b; 5:8; 2 Chr 13:2; 2 Kgs 21:2, 19; 22:1; 23:26 and 24:18; Sir 50:27; and Bar 1:1. The passages in Kings are of fathers of kings' mothers. For discussion, see J. Gray, *I and II Kings, A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963). Those in 1 Chr 11 purport to be men of the army from the time of David (cf. 2 Sam 23:26, 28, 29). The variations with Samuel passages are minor. 1 Chr 9:16b and 5:8 present added information in what is otherwise pure genealogy (for discussion of this phenomenon, see Johnson, *The Purpose*, 57-60). With regard to 2 Chr 13:2, the parallel passage in 1 Kgs 22:42 does not list the place, though Chr may be correct in light of 2 Kgs 21:2, etc., above.

31 Neh 10:1 is the only exception. This is probably a legal document, though the title may be a later addition. See J.M. Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (New York: Doubleday, 1965) 173-75. Myers errs in comparing this form with Persian business documents in A.T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murashu Sons* (Philadelphia, 1904) 27, 31; and F.E. Peiser, *Texte Juristischen und Geschäftlichen Inhalts* (Berlin: Ruther & Reichard, 1896) 217, 237. The phrase in question is "X, *mâr-šu-ša* Y, *mâr* Z." In the light of the above discussion of this phrase, no parallel can be shown.

6. No genealogies in lists occur outside of the work of the Chronicler with the exception of Gen 36:2, 10 and 2 Sam 3:3, 4 (*bis*). These few are unusual in that they are concerned with women (see No.8, below).

7. Linear genealogies do not occur in poetry in the Old Testament.[32]

8. Genealogies of women are few in number, are usually of royalty, have no established pattern, and are patronymic in nature. In only seven instances is lineage traced through a woman in these genealogies.[33]

9. Genealogies other than those based on son or daughter, but which make use of other familial relationships, are infrequent and are composite.

10. Date formulae in genealogies up to and including three generations exhibit certain patterns, especially in Jeremiah and 1 & 2 Kings.[34] They are always used with titles. In genealogies of four or more generations, dates are often explicit in the introductory pedigree or may be implied from the context in which lists occur.

11. Titles may refer to any person in the lineage, though most often, they refer to the first person named. Likewise,

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32 The only apparent exceptions are Sir 45:25 and 50:27.

33 2 Samuel 3:3, 3:4 (*bis*); Gen 34:1; Esth 9:29; and 2 Chr 24:26 (*bis*).

34 Such formulae may be attributed to the work of the editors of these books and present one of the few instances where these forms appear to have defined canons. Indeed, these forms may be seen as a kind of king list phenomenon, though the usage is not consistent. Apparently, king lists were not a major literary genre in Israel (cf. the difficult list in 1 Chr 3:10 ff.). This may be reflected in the few Israelite royal inscriptions that have been discovered. See N. Avigad, "Hebrew Epigraphic Sources," *The Age of the Monarchies: Political History*, ed. A. Malamat (Jerusalem: Massada, 1979) 20-43.

titles may be located in almost any place in the chain, though are usually listed last. In genealogies up to and including three generations, the majority of titles are those of royalty. Priests are second in frequency of occurrence, followed by other functionaries.[35] In genealogies of four or more generations, titles do not appear to be an important consideration. What appears to be more important is *tribal* relation, even in the introductory pedigree. The only genealogy of four or more generations that does not give tribe or title or both is found in Jer 36:14.[36]

12. In only three places (Jer 20:1, Num 25:7, 11) is the form of the genealogy like the Assyrian model, and nowhere does it appear in the form of the Egyptian model.[37]

The following patterns are found in Old Testament linear genealogies: those up to the third generation exhibit a variety of form and content, but are usually of royalty, seldom occur in lists and introductory formulae, and are frequently used with date and titles. Genealogies of four or more generations are almost always found in lists or introductory formulae. Those in lists are the work of the Chronicler, while those that are introductions occur elsewhere. Most are concerned with tribe, and have an explicit or implied date. No linear genealogies show evidence of being influenced by Assyrian or Egyptian models.

III

It is assumed generally that genealogy is used either (a) for the establishment of rights (usually for proof of nobility

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35 Prophet = 2 Chr 26:22, 32:32; Jer 35:43. Governor = 2 Kgs 25:22; Hag 1:1?, 2:2. Secretary/scribe = Jer 32:12; 2 Kgs 22:23. Servant = Hag 2:23?, Jer 27:13.

36 On this passage, see note 28 above.

37 Jer 37:13 may be an exception.

of lineage) or (b) for prideful or material gain.[38] Such was the case for Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian genealogies. There is, however, another use to which genealogies have been put, one that rests on the oral tradition of tribal societies.[39]

Studies in African[40] and Arab[41] societies show that genealogy in pre-literate, tribal societies is designed to explain relationships between the *living*[42] as a means of

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38 R.A. Bowman, "Genealogy," *IDB*, II, 362-65.

39 For the relationship between genealogy and history in contemporary tribal societies see I. Cunnison, *The Luapula Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, Custom and History in Tribal Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1967) 112; idem, "History and Genealogies in a Conquest State," *American Anthropologist* 59 (1957) 20-31; and M. Gluckman, *Politics, Law and Ritual in Tribal Society* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1965) 268-75. For the relationship between oral tradition and history see J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition, A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H.M. Wright (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965) 80, 99-105, and 142-64; and idem, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1985).

40 E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Neuer, A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic Peoples* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956); Gluckman, *Politics, Law*; Cunnison, *The Luapula*; idem, "History and Genealogy"; Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi, Being the First Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta Tribe* (London: Oxford University, 1945); idem, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953) 17-41; and L. Bohanan, "A Genealogical Charter," *Africa* 22 (1952) 301-15.

41 E. Peters, "The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 90 (1960) 29-53; and idem, "Aspects of rank and status among Muslims in a Lebanese village," *Mediterranean Countrymen, Essays in the Social Anthropology of the Mediterranean*, ed. J. Pitt-Rivers (Netherlands: Hoorberg, 1963) 159-200. For pre-Islamic studies of genealogies see W.R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (London: A. & C. Black, 1903); and J. Obermann, "Early Islam," 242-53, 290-305. Compare traditions in J. Pritchard, *ANET*, 501-505.

42 Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer*, 193-34; and Fortes, *Dynamics*, 36.

identifying and validating *present relationships*.[43] Lineage is given between the eponymous founder of the clan or tribe and the present in a continuous line that is usually of standard depth.[44] As people are added at the end of the lineage, links drop out,[45] collateral lines are merged,[46] and names are fused.[47] No genealogies may be considered accurate beyond the third (at most fourth) generation.[48]

The first three (or four) generations is called the "minimal" lineage.[49] After the fourth generation, only *kinship* (not heredity) can be recognized.[50] Ancestors after the fourth generation usually are listed because they are founders of lineage branches.[51] Thus, "lineage segmentation and political segmentation are to some extent co-ordinated,"[52] and genealogical disputes are often political disputes.[53]

When the tribal system is undercut and is supplanted by

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43 Bohanan, "Charter," 312; and Fortes, "Structure," 27-28.

44 Usually of 10 to 12 generations. See Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer*, 199-200; Bohanan, "Charter," 313; Cunnison, *Luapula*, 108; Fortes, *Dynamics*, 31; and Smith, *Kinship*, 3-4.

45 Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer*, 199-203; and Cunnison, *Luapula*, 112.

46 Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer*, 199, 211.

47 Fortes, *Dynamics*, 33.

48 Smith, *Kinship*, 8; Peters, "Aspects," 183-84; Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer*, 199-200; Bohanan, "Charter," 312-13; and Cunnison, *Luapula*, 108.

49 Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer*, 196.

50 Bohanan, "Charter," 313; Cunnison, *Luapula*, 108; and Smith, *Kinship*, 16.

51 Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer*, 199; Peters, "Aspects," 183; Cunnison, "Conquest State," 24; Fortes, "Structure," 25; and Peters, "Proliferation," 29.

52 Evans-Pritchard, *Neuer*, 189.

53 Bohanan, "Charter," 313.

a federal system with centralized authority, legal and political considerations are transferred to royalty.[54] As Fortes has observed, "The more centralized the political system, the greater the tendency seems to be for corporate strength of descent groups to be reduced or for such corporate groups to be non-existent."[55]

When oral traditions are reduced to writing or compiled in a systematized way, disputes often arise. Compromises are generally the result.[56] Such a situation arises because genealogies are not learned in systematic fashion, but at random, being collected over a long period of time.[57] Thus no one person has all information available.

It can be seen that genealogies in pre-literate tribal societies have a form and function that determine their historicity. It is inaccurate to say that these genealogies do not represent reliable facts. It is more accurate to say that the conception of history for and by which they were maintained caused them to develop in certain ways.

IV

Old Testament linear genealogies may now be brought into sharper focus. The following analysis may serve as a model and point of comparison. For convenience, four parallel genealogies are set forth below.

1 Chr 9:15 Neh 11:17 Neh 11:22-24 Neh 12:35b

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54 Cunnison, *Luapula*, 112-13; idem, "Conquest State," 21, 29; and Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 78.

55 Fortes, "Structure," 26.

56 Peters, "Aspects," 181-83; and Bohanan, "Charter," 306-308.

57 Bohanan, "Charter," 303; and Obermann, "Early Islam," 248-49.

		Uzzi	Zechariah
		Bani	Jonathan
		Hashabiah	Shemaiah
Mattaniah	Mattaniah	Mattaniah	Mattaniah
Mica	Mica	Mica of the sons of	Micaiah
Zichri	Zabdi		Zaccur
Asaph	Asaph	Asaph, the singers	Asaph

1 Chr 9:15 is set in a list of Levites enrolled in Jerusalem at the time of the return. Neh 11:17 is set in a list of those living in Jerusalem at the time of Zerrubbabel (cf. Neh 12:8) after the rebuilding of the wall. Neh 11:22-24 purports to be a genealogy of a Levite overseer, and Neh 12:35b is found in a list of those who circle the wall at its dedication.

All four genealogies know of Mattaniah, son of Mica (Macaiah).[58] All agree, for one reason or another, that he was an important Levite. If he was the Levite that Chronicles knows, it is unlikely that he was living at the time of Nehemiah, since he would have been an extremely old man. Apparently Neh 11:17 has misplaced him in time, since Neh 11:22-24 and 12:35b are genealogies that purport to include his sons (Hashabiah and Shemaiah), grandsons (Bani and Jonathan), and great-grandsons (Uzzi and Zechariah). In three of these genealogies, Mattaniah's grandfather is listed as Asaph. All three give a different spelling of Asaph's father's name.[59] The following is a reconstruction of these genealogies, and a discussion of that reconstruction.

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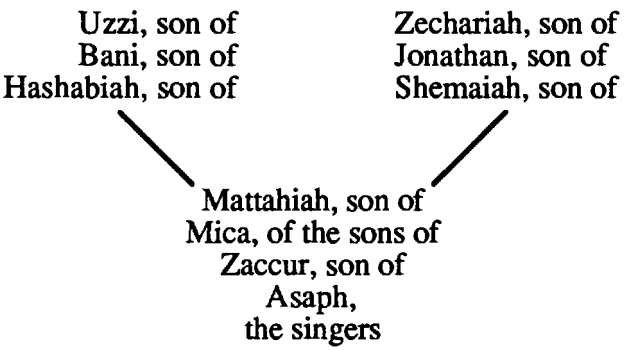
58 The difference is not significant. See G.B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1896), 170-242; and Z. Zevit, "A Chapter in the History of Israelite Personal Names," *BASOR* 250 (1983) 1-16.

59 M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966).



The three generation depth of the Uzzi and Zechariah branches form a minimal lineage. No tendentious reasons for the creation of these names can be discerned. In fact, three generation depth was quite common in Israel, especially with titles. Also, oral traditions need not be considered suspect, if they were the source for the two branches.[60]

It is not certain that Hashabiah and Shemaiah were related. If they were not, one or the other or both were added to the traditions of Mattaniah, who then becomes the first ancestor of a maximal lineage. If only one of them was related to Mattaniah (though there is no way of determining the priority of one over the other), the second may have been a collateral line of the family or clan, the ancestor of whom has been lost (either in the oral of written stages). If both of them were added, then it was done for tendentious reasons, probably legitimation.

There is no reason to question the historicity of the traditions concerning the descendants of Mattaniah son of Mica. Oral tradition would have been strong enough to

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60 Proximity of the events to the written text cannot have been later than historical memory could have served.

survive to his great-grandsons in a community like post-exilic Jerusalem. It probably survived, however, in both oral and written form, since there are two other independent traditions (1 Chr 9:15, Neh 11:17) that were probably obtained at different times by different persons.[61]

With regard to the lineage of Mattaniah himself, the following may be observed. In Neh 12:35b, Mattaniah is connected with Zaccur, son of Asaph. Asaph was a temple singer who lived at the time of David (1 Chr 25:6-7). His son according to 1 Chr 25:2 was one Zaccur, who could not have been the father of Mica, father of Mattaniah. More likely, Zakkur is mentioned in Neh 12:35b because he was remembered as the founder of a lineage branch (cf. 1 Chr 25:10) of the same family of singers that is listed in Neh 11:22-24. This latter passage betrays what was probably the original structure of the genealogy by its use of the phrase "of the sons of." This phrase belongs not with Asaph, but with the subsequent (now missing) link "Zaccur, son of," which has dropped out either in the oral or written stage.[62] This is exactly what should be expected. As people are added at the end of the lineage, links drop out, and kinship, not heredity, is recognized.

These developments are reflected also in the names Zichri (1 Chr 9:15) and Zabdi (Neh 11:17), ancestors of Mica who, in other lists, were dropped due to considerations

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61 For the sources available to the Chronicler, see Johnson *The Purpose*, 37-42; and Williamson, "Sources and Redaction."

62 One finds traces of eponymous ancestors scattered throughout linear genealogies (e.g., 1 Chr 7:17; Neh 13:28). Also see Num 25:14; Nehemiah 11:4b-6, 27:1 (= Josh 17:3), 11:22, 12:35a; 1 Chr 9:4, 6:33, 39, 44; 1 Esdr 5:5b, 5:5c; and Tob 1:1. It is difficult to know if this is an old phenomenon (which broke down either in the oral or written stages), or is a relatively late phenomenon. If it is late, there might be present some influence of the Babylonia formula which could have been picked up during the exile (though put to different use). There is, however, no evidence of direct borrowing.

of length but were remembered in these passages as *heros eponymos*. It is possible also that one may represent a genuine ancestor, while the other is a member of a collateral branch of the same family or clan. This cannot be determined. It is clear, however, that the names of Mattaniah's father and grandfather were not available to the writers or editors of these passages. Perhaps the writers or editors *thought* they had named these relatives. But that they did not is evident to us, because Mattaniah appears to have three grandfathers (Zichri, Zabdi, and Zaccur) through the same father (Mica)![63]

V

The analysis shows that there is a high degree of probability that these genealogies originated in an oral tradition used to establish and validate *living relationships*, a tradition not unlike those found in contemporary tribal societies. Other linear genealogies of four or more generations, either in lists or serving as introductory pedigrees, exhibit similar characteristics,[64] though each one must be analyzed on its own terms with its peculiar problems. Successful analysis will depend ultimately on frequency of occurrence (Vansina), and thus not all may be dealt with adequately.

There is, however, a major problem in analyzing

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63 It is possible that Mattaniah did have two grandfathers of the same *family* of singers (i.e., sons of Zaccur), both of whose names survived in tradition.

64 The most notable is the genealogy found in the following passages: Nehemiah 11:11; 1 Chr 9:11; Ezra 7:1-5; 1 Chr 6:1-15 (non-linear); 1 Chr 6:50-53 (non-linear), 1 Esdr 8:1-3; and 2 Esdr 1:1-3. Solutions to the problems in this genealogy must rest on analysis similar to that presented above. For attempts at understanding these materials see Johnson, *The Purpose*, 38-41; and W.F. Albright, "Notes on Early Hebrew and Aramaic Epigraphy," *JPOS* 6 (1926) 96-100.

genealogies with these criteria. If the genealogies were transmitted orally, they did not survive in a tribal society, but in a federal, post-monarchical society. As studies of genealogies in contemporary pre-literate societies have shown, genealogical traditions undergo transformation in a centralized, monarchical system. Such was the case for Israel. The monarchy, in undercutting the tribal league and its traditions,[65] no doubt also transformed the use of genealogy. The evidence of this may be found in linear genealogies that extend to three generations, the preponderance of which have royal titles. The monarchy did not long survive, however, and these genealogical formulae did not have enough time to solidify in the same way as their Assyrian and Egyptian counterparts. This may be seen from the lack of genuine king lists in Israel, and the presence, even in two or three generation genealogies, of tribal data.

Kingship does not seem to have affected the use of genealogy. Its most obvious influence is revealed in the use of titles in linear genealogies, a fact which bespeaks of the principle of legitimation. Place in society was defined by title, not by tribe or clan. This was not lost on the new, post-monarchical, priestly and Levitical, religio-political order. *Levite* became a title.[66] By making *tribe* into a title, the scribes of this new order were able to bridge the gap between their age and the age of the monarchy, and harken back to an even older, pre-royal, rose-coloured time. In short, genealogy was used to produce a particular view of the past that conformed to present needs, in this case, the establishment and validation of living relationships for a new societal order.[67]

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65 de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 91-98.

66 de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 358-71; and R. Abba, "Priests and Levites," *IDB* III, 876-89.

67 There is no reason to suppose that the priestly-Levitical circles consciously attempted to revive older genealogical patterns. The argument presented here has tried to show that this pattern never fell into

The linear genealogy in the Old Testament shows traces of being based on an oral pattern similar to that found in contemporary pre-literate tribal societies. Such traces are difficult to locate and analyze for three reasons. First, the undercutting of the tribal structure of Israelite society by the monarchy brought with it a change in the form and function of genealogy: it was put to use by the king (or royal circles) for the purpose of legitimation. Second, after the end of the monarchy, genealogy was again modified, combining certain features of both patterns. Third, when they were put into writing, genealogies were again modified, this time broken up for the tendentious reasons of the separate Biblical writers and/or editors. One wonders to what degree other forms of genealogies in the Old Testament may be the result of this break-up and tendentiousness.[68]

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complete disuse.

68 I wish to thank Mr. D. Bruce MacKay for his many thoughtful observations that contributed to the improvement of this essay.

TABLE I

The following is an analysis of linear genealogical traditions and genealogies in the Old Testament by form, function and content. For convenience of comparison, the books of the Apocrypha have been included. This listing does not take into account any textual problems in the passages named. Although it is based on the received Hebrew text, chapter and verse numbers are given according to the English version.

Code:

N — Narrative

L — List

S — Part of other genealogical traditions

I — Introduction to person or book

D — Date

T — Tribe

P — Genealogy of priest

Q — Genealogy of Levite

R — Genealogy of royalty

A, B — Women

X, Y, Z — Men

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
X. son of Y, titles(s)										
Num	25:14	•					•			
2 Sam	8:3	•								•
1 Kgs	2:39	•								•
	11:26?	•					•			
2 Kgs	18:18a	•								•
	18:37a	•								•
	18:18b	•								•
	18:37b	•								•
	20:12	•								•
Neh	10:1		•							
	13:28	•					?			
Esth	3:1,10	•					?			
	8:5	•					?			
	9:24	•					?			
Prov	1:1				•					•
1 Chr	11:3	•								•
2 Chr	22:6	•								•
	24:20	•						•		
	26:22	•								
	32:32	•								
Ezek	11:1 *bis*	•								?
Jer	21:1	•						•		
	35:1	•								•
	35:4	•								
	37:3	•						•		
Hag	1:12	•						•		
	1:14 *bis*	•						•		?
	2:2 *bis*	•						•		?
	2:4	•						•		
	2:23?	•								
1 Esdr	8:62	•						•		
Bar	1:8	•								•

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
Add Esth	16:10 (v. 17)	•					?			
X, title, son of Y, title(s)										
Jer	20:1	•			•			•		
Num	25:7, 11	•						•		
X, son of Y, tribe										
Exod	31:6	•					•			
2 Sam	20:1	•			?		•			
1 Chr	11:42	•		•			•			
	31:14	•		•					•	
1 Esdr	8:63		•	•						
Sir	45:25 (poetry)									•
1 Chr	11:31 (place)	•	•	•			•			
	11:28 (place)	•	•							
	11:30, 35 (place)		•	•						
Date: X, son of Y, title(s)										
Jer	22:11, 24	•					•			•
	24:1	•			•		•			•
	25:1	•			•		•			•
	26:1	•			•		•			•
	27:1	•			•		•			•
	28:1	•					•			
	28:4	•					•			•
	35:1	•					•			•
	36:1, 9	•					•			•
	45:1	•					•			•
	46:2	•					•			•

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
Isa	39:1	•				•				•
Ezek	1:3	•			•	•		•		
Ezra	8:33	•				•		•		
1 Kgs	13:1	•				•				•
	14:1, 17, 23	•				•			•	
	15:1b, 8b?	•				•				•
	15:17b, 23b	•				•			•	
	15:27b, 32b	•				•			•	
	16:1	•				•				•
	18:1, 9	•				•				•
Jdt	6:15	•				•	•			

X, son of Y, son of Z

Jer	32:12 (v. 16)	•								
	35:3	•					•			
	36:11	•								
	40:5, 9, 11	•								
	41:2	•								
	43:6	•								
2 Kgs	9:14	•								•
2 Sam	23:9 (cf. 1 Chr 11:12; 2 Sam 23:11)	•								?
1 Chr	7:17		•	•			•			
	9:8b		•	•			•			
Neh	3:4 *bis*		•	•						
	3:21, 23		•	•						
	6:10	•								

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
	13:13	•		•			•		•	
Jdt	6:15									
	(+ title)	•					•			
1 Esdr	5:5b	•		•						

X, son of Y, son of Z, title(s)

2 Chr	25:17	•							•	
2 Kgs	14:8	•							•	
2 Chr	25:23	•							•	
1 Chr	26:24	•		•						
1 Esdr	5:5c	•					•			

X, title, son of Y, son of Z

Jer	37:13	•								
Bar	1:7	•						•		
2 Kgs	14:13	•							•	

X, son of Y, son of Z, tribe

Judg	10:1	•			•	•	•			
Exod	31:1	•					•			
Esth	2:5	•					•			
1 Chr	9:16b									
	(place)		•	•						
Sir	50:27									
	(place)	poetry								

Date: X, son of Y, son of Z, title(s)

Jer	41:1	•				•			•	
	51:59	•				•				
Zech	1:1, 7				•	•				
2 Kgs	22:3	•				•				

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
	25:22	•				•				
	25:25	•				•				•
Add Esth	11:12	•			•	•	•			

4 Generations

Num	16:1	•			•		•		•	
Josh	7:1	•			•		•			
1 Sam	1:1	•			•		•			
Jer	36:14	•								
1 Chr	4:35		•	•						?
	5:8 (place)		•	•			?			
	9:7		•	•			•			
	9:8c		•	•			•			
	9:12									
	(Neh 11:12b)	•	•					•		
	9:14a									
	(Neh 11:15a)	•	•				•		•	
	9:15									
	(Neh 11:17a)	•	•				•		•	
	9:16									
	(Neh 11:17b)	•	•				•		•	
	9:19 + title	•	•				•		•	

5 Generations

Num	27:1									
	(Josh 17:3)	•			•		•			
1 Sam	9:1	•			•		•			
1 Chr	9:4									
	(Neh 11:4b-6)	•	•				•			?
2 Chr	20:14	•					•		•	
Neh	11:13b									
	(1 Chr 9:12b)	•	•					•		
	11:22		•	•			•		•	

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
Zeph	1:1				•	•				?
Tobit	1:1	•			•	•	•			
6 Generations										
1 Chr	4:37			•	•					?
	9:11 (Neh 11:11) + title			•	•			•		
	9:12b (Neh 11:13)				•	•			•	
Neh	11:4b-6 (1 Chr 9:4)			•	•			•		
	11:12b (1 Chr 9:12)				•	•			•	
Bar	1:1 (place)	•			•	•				
7 Generations										
Neh	11:5			•	•			•		
	12:35b			•	•			•		
11 Generations										
1 Chr	5:14-15			•	•			•		
14 Generations										
1 Chr	6:44			•	•			•		•
1 Esdr	8:1	•			•	•		•		
15 Generations										
1 Chr	6:39			•	•			•		•

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
17 Generations										
Ezra	7:1-5	•			•	•		•		
Jdt	8:1	•			•	•	•			
20 Generations										
2 Esdr	1:1	•			•	•		•		
23 Generations										
1 Chr	6:33 + title	•	•				•		•	
A, daughter of X										
Gen	23:3	•		•						•
2 Sam	21:8	•								?
1 Kgs	15:1	•								•
2 Chr	13:2 (place)		•							•
1 Kgs	22:42	•								•
2 Chr	20:31	•								•
2 Chr	15:33	•								•
2 Chr	27:1	•								•
2 Kgs	18:2	•								•
2 Chr	29:1	•								•
1 Chr	11:20 (2 Sam 3:3)		•							•
A, daughter of X, title										
Gen	36:2	•								
Num	25:15 (18?)		•							

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
A, daughter of X, tribe										
Lev	24:11	•								
A, daughter of X, place										
2 Kgs	21:19	•								•
	22:1	•								•
	23:36	•								•
	24:18	•								•
A, daughter of B										
Gen	34:1	•			•					
A, daughter of B and X (title)										
Esth	9:29	•								•
A, daughter of X, son of Y, title										
Gen	36:2	•	•	•						
Esth	2:15?	•								•
A, (Grand) daughter of X										
2 Kgs	11:25 (title)	•								•
1 Chr	8:26	•								•
A, daughter of X, father of Y and Z										
Gen	11:30	•								

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
A, daughter of X, title, wife of Y, sister of Z										
2 Chr	22:11b	•								•
2 Kgs	11:2	•								•
A, title, wife of X, son of Y, son of Z, title										
2 Kgs	22:14	•								
A, daughter of X, son of Y and A1, daughter of X1, son of Y1										
1 Chr	11:18	•								•
X, son of A, wife of Y										
Gen	36:10 *bis*	•	•	•						
X, son of A, daughter of Y, title										
2 Sam	3:3	•	•							•
	3:4 *bis*	•	•							•
X, son of A, title										
2 Chr	24:26 *bis*	•								
Composite Genealogies										
Hag	1:1 + titles	•			•	•		•		
Hos	1:1 + titles	•			•	•				•
2 Chr	34:22 + title	•								
2 Kgs	22:14 + title	•								

		N	L	S	I	D	T	P	Q	R
2 Chr	22:11b									
	+ titles	•						•		
2 Kgs	11:2									
	+ titles	•							•	

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WORD OF GOD AND WORD OF MAN: PROPHETS AND CANON

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Peter Craigie and I met in Edinburgh while studying in New College in the mid–1960's, and were most recently associated in the Daily Study Bible (Old Testament) project. I am delighted to offer in celebration of his memory an essay whose first version was the New College Opening Lecture in October 1984, and whose theme recalls the volumes on Ezekiel and the Twelve Prophets he contributed to that series.

One of the most secure results of biblical study is that even books assigned by tradition to a known name, whether Moses or David or Matthew or Paul are not all — and in some cases not at all — products of that man. The career, and that includes the speaking career, of Isaiah of Jerusalem may well be the germ of the Book of Isaiah; but it has contributed a relatively small part of its bulk. The words and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth may have provided the impetus for Christian proclamation, and they may be the point of crystallization for the gospel tradition; but not every word that the gospels attribute to Jesus is his.

This is no new knowledge! None of this, in itself, need represent a problem for those individuals or groups who hold to a high view of the authority of scripture. If the bible is the supremely authoritative guide to life and doctrine, then it is in its text, or within those texts which it comprises, that authority resides. What matters is not whether all of Deuteronomy is from Moses, but whether the faithful assent to its teaching about loving God and loving their neighbour. The problem lies with several traditional defences of biblical authority. These have regularly held that the books of the

Bible are to be accepted precisely because they derive from prophets, apostles, evangelists, and other great and inspired figures from the era of revelation. Moses wrote the Pentateuch, Joshua — the Book of Joshua, Samuel — Judges and Samuel, Jeremiah — the Books of Kings, David — the Psalms, the various Prophetic figures — the Books associated with their names, and so on. And that is why these books are authoritative.

It is not deference to biblical authority, but this traditional defence of it, which has to be given up in response to close historical scrutiny of the biblical texts. The authority of scripture may be maintained on other grounds. But of course there is a more radical issue lurking here which must be exposed.

Many of us know the often agonizing situation of having to deal — or indeed wanting to go on dealing — with two estranged partners. A business has broken up; there has been a divorce; a club or party has split in two. And we, observing this, still try to maintain our relationships with both sides. We recognize the qualities of both sides. We have had a long and fruitful relationship with both sides. We know, because of all that has gone before, that we can never fully understand the one erstwhile partner without considering and remembering the other.

I do not want to strain the analogy any further. Jesus of Nazareth is not exactly the same as Jesus of the Gospels. The Book of Isaiah is more than the record of Isaiah of Jerusalem. There is much more in the Torah or Pentateuch than the contribution of the historical Moses. The old simply perceived partnerships are no longer there. Close attention has disclosed much more complex relationships and we must maintain our links with all sides. Both Isaiah and the Book of Isaiah are important to us. And how can we express a preference for the Gospels, which are in our hands, over against Jesus of Nazareth, who is not? The case of Jesus and the Gospels is different from those of Macbeth and Julius Caesar and the plays of which they are the heroes.

The fact that these are historical figures is relatively unimportant to their role in Shakespeare's plays. And on the other side these two great tragedies are a poor source for Scottish or Roman history.

There has been a very lively discussion in the last few years of the brave attempt by Professor Brevard Childs of Yale to delimit the task of "canonical criticism."[1] He asks us to pay closer attention than biblical critics have tended to do, first of all to the final form of biblical books rather than to interesting reconstructions of their development; and secondly to the place these books have in the Canon of Scripture — how they contribute to the bible as a whole, and how the rest of the Canon shapes our approach to the individual book.

All good and well. It is one programme for handling an authoritative scripture. And it may even be an appropriate way to read some large portions of the Bible. But it is of little help in coming to terms with Moses, or Isaiah, or Paul, as they really were. And no form of belief which professes to take seriously the real world of past, present, and future, can ever yield its understanding to an authoritative system. Northrop Frye offers a worrying image of the Bible speaking to itself: Old Testament anticipating New, and New Testament fulfilling Old — like parallel mirrors reflecting each other, but not reality.[2] Is this the whole truth?

One aspect of the estrangement I mentioned does trouble my protestant conscience. It is often said that one of the great gains of the Reformation was returning the Bible to the people of God. Away with incomprehensible Latin chained to ecclesiastical lecturns! The Catholic Church in the last generation has made enormous strides galloping after the descendants of the Reformation, joining its work in

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[1] B.S. Childs, *An Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM Press, 1979).

[2] N. Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (London: Ark, 1982) 78.

vernacular translation of scripture and development of liturgy in the language of the people.

Yet I wonder if biblical scholarship (and that has largely been Protestant scholarship) has not partly undercut this endeavour. It has shown that the Bible may be the sole and so the indispensable means of access to Jesus and Jeremiah and Hosea, yet it offers no immediate access to these figures. Their memory has been preserved by a loving but partisan tradition whose bias we do not always share. The traces of Jesus and the others have been partly covered. We can now only seek to grasp them by expert opinion or inspired intuition — I do not think these are quite the same thing (despite the regular bad press for experts)![3] Scholars may not exactly have locked away the Bible again; but we have left the clear impression that many of the best bits cannot be understood without serious training.

All of this relates to how we might speak about inspiration. Though I find much of the book congenial, I have difficulty with what James Barr has written on the topic in his *Escaping from Fundamentalism*.[4] He seeks "to ascertain the inspiration of scripture within the limits that scripture itself permits and within the limits that are consonant with the factual reality of scripture" (124). Two opening moves insist that inspiration need not and does not involve inerrancy; and that "any account of inspiration must go beyond the writers, a very limited circle of persons who committed the books to paper, and extend to the whole

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[3] Many readers will have the impression that the approach taken by Robert Carroll in his important commentary on Jeremiah (London: SCM, 1986), if at all valid, must make the historical Jeremiah even more remote from our inspection. He may himself encourage this impression by using a Shakespeare analogy (63) similar to our own above. While sharing Carroll's perception of the multi-layered state of the tradition, I would hope that his work may in time permit a sounder approach to the Jeremiah behind the tradition. Good solutions are mostly achieved only after the complexities of the problem have been fully appreciated.

[4] J. Barr, *Escaping from Fundamentalism* (London: SCM Press, 1984).

process of the production of scripture, including stages of oral tradition, editing and redaction, and transmission" (125). There follows a number of sensible proposals for talking about the inspiration of scripture. (125-129) (a) The Bible could be viewed on the model of Christ as both human and divine: inspiration might be the bond that holds its two beings together in one. (b) Scripture may not be in itself, as a mass of paper, the Word of God; but may become so for us when the Divine Spirit breathes through it: inspiration attaches not to the origin of the words in scripture, but to their effectiveness. (c) The Doctrine of Justification offers a further model: what is weak and fallible is still accepted by God and made his servant and instrument. (d) A further account recognizes that "even highly original writers like Paul made it clear how much they owed to tradition and how much they had received from it." The inspiration of scripture "must have been something that acted upon the community of ancient times, both in Israel and in the New Testament Church. The focus for any doctrine of inspiration, on this account, should lie in the doctrine of the church, in ecclesiology as it is called." And (e) another analogy is that of "inspiring teacher." This sort of inspiration "will vary with the temperament and ability of the students, and their natural abilities will be expressed in the different degrees in which they respond to this inspiration." Inspiration in this sense does not suddenly dry up and cease: it can continue after the original instruction has come to an end.

If you are committed to reconciling properly critical study of the bible with a traditional theological topic called The Inspiration of Scripture then James Barr's proposals have several attractions. What I find a drawback is that inspiration is being used here in a sense different from its normal artistic or literary use. What is the problem about that? In itself it is quite acceptable to use a term in theological discourse in a sense different from either its everyday one or its usage in another academic discipline. Yet inspiration in the more literary sense is also a factor in

biblical studies, even if it is not so named. Perceptions about literary quality and integrity are fundamental to discussions about the unity and development of texts. It is precisely because the moralizing conclusions to some of the gospel parables are so out of character with the crisp tales that precede, that we conclude that the parable is from Jesus and the present ending an addition by the Christian tradition. It is just when the terse poetry in Isaiah or Amos is interrupted by prose reflection, that we conclude we have moved from the Master to a lesser disciple. As historians, we may be delighted by these recognitions. We may be liberated from the responsibility of understanding a poet who ruined the effect of his own poetry.[5] We will possess added evidence of how the prophetic message was interpreted and reformulated in later ages. Yet while every scrap of possible information about an ill-documented period is relevant to such a researcher, much of it ill merits the labels "inspired" or "inspiring."

On the other hand, it is exactly because the original words of Amos and Isaiah and Jesus are of the highest quality that we cannot fail to retain our interest in them, and not just in the finished books associated with their names. In any discussion of inspiration in scripture, we must reckon with the wide diversity, not just in literary type, but also in literary quality, within the pages of the Bible.

I was particularly struck by this when I moved from Joshua to Judges in the preparation of the Daily Study Bible on these books. There are good stories in Joshua; but they are few and far between — while the material that separates them is earnest narrative that is little more than official theology given story form. The tales in Judges are much more deftly told and seldom fail to appeal to the imagination.[6] Translated into contemporary Jewish and

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[5] This sort of point is made well by R.P. Carroll in connection with Jeremiah in *From Chaos to Covenant* (London: SCM Press, 1981) 9-10.

[6] A.G. Auld, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (Daily Study Bible; Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1984).

Israeli terms: Judges is like a lot of the rich, self critical humour so amply found in that society, while Joshua is more like a defence of the last forty years by Israel's foreign minister in front of the United Nations Assembly. Admittedly that sort of historical review is occasionally, and at its best, inspiring (perhaps in the hands of Abba Eban), but "inspiring" in a rather different sense: rather more like the inspiration a commander offers his troops. That sort of diplomatic speech is generally directed at an absent audience. It reassures the committed that they are on the right side of the conflict, that they are being well led, and that their cause will succeed.

I am aware of at least one danger in talking about better and worse writing in the Bible (apart of course from shocking some, and confirming the worst fears of others): and that is that attitudes to quality and worth do change; there are fashions in art and modes in criticism. Yet Amos' poetry is interrupted by prose; some of Jesus' parables do end up in bland moralizing; and few there can ever have been who preferred Joshua to Judges as "a good read." These are facts. If "inspiration" and "word of God" belong to the same field of discourse, there is something to ponder here.

Yet, if not every single schoolboy, then surely every student beginning the study of Theology or Bible knows that the Bible *is* or *contains* the Word of God. Doctrinal standards tend to talk this way. They are reinforced in various forms of liturgy when a reader from scripture introduces the portion with "Hear the Word of God," or when a congregation responds to the reading saying, "This is the very Word of God."

What does it mean to call the whole Bible "Word of God" and how did the habit start? These are by no means the same question. The first is a topic for Systematic Theology; and the second, for Biblical studies. But if we can penetrate some of the past, and trace some of the story, our attempts to answer the second question will at least illumine our consideration of the first.

As soon as we get away from liturgical routine, and pause to reflect, we begin to notice the oddity of labelling all scripture this way. The New Testament contains several letters of pastoral advice. Only in a derived sense, or perhaps when the writer specifically claims divine authority, can they properly be called "Word of God." Paul occasionally notes quite explicitly that his advice is his own, and not "from the Lord." The New Testament itself uses the phrase most often in Acts and the Epistles, as a term for Christian preaching or the Christian message. In the Gospels, the use is very infrequent. Jesus' own teaching is occasionally labelled "The Word of the Lord" (Luke 5:1) or "The Word of God" (Luke 22:6). The phrase can also refer to an individual divine commandment (Matt. 15:6), while in Heb. 11:3 the reference is to the word of God spoken in creation.

Some of the best known and most loved material in the Old Testament, the Psalms, seem to be more sensibly styled our word to God rather than his to us. Again within the Hebrew scriptures, a book like Proverbs shares so much of its plain down-to-earth advice with world-wide wisdom that it is hard to see what is gained by calling it "Word of God." And indeed some of the most exciting and most acclaimed Old Testament theologians of recent decades have found it very difficult to offer any strictly theological account of the Old Testament Wisdom traditions.

Particularly acute problems have been faced with that book we know under the innocuously ecclesiastical title The Preacher. The amazement that Ecclesiastes is part of the Old Testament is caught nicely in Gerhard von Rad's great Old Testament Theology where he talks of its writer "pitching his camp at the furthest frontier of Jahwism."[7] Then, among more recent Old Testament theologians, Ronald Clements is reticent almost to the point of silence over the Old Testament wisdom traditions, with not a reference to the texts of Job or

[7] G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* Vol. 1, (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1962) 458.

Ecclesiastes.[8] With the Hebrew Prophets, theologians are very much more at home. Here at least we are dealing with self confessed purveyors of the Divine Word, the logos of the theos, who denounced even Kings and great hostile crowds with a bold "Hear the Word of the Lord."

It is undeniable that it is precisely in the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible that we find the earliest clear intimation of our generalized use of the phrase "the Word of God." However, it is exactly the widespread confidence that in the classical Hebrew prophets we meet the quintessential bearers of the divine word that I want to question in this paper. What I want to argue is that this is itself a canonical biblical, and not an original and contemporary perspective. Amos and Isaiah, I suspect, were not in their own terms the self-confessed prophetic bearers of the divine word they are regularly held to be.

In several published studies[9] I have tried to demonstrate that those whom we call the eighth and seventh century "prophets" were not such in their own estimate. Prophets were people they denounced and abhorred. They would hardly have been seen dead in their company. Only once they were long dead, were they reckoned "prophet" themselves; and that involved a rehabilitation of the term "prophets" as well as a new definition of their own role. Amos gained none of his authority from being a Prophet of God. Tradition made him a Prophet of God — and that despite the tenor of the Book of Amos itself on the topic of prophecy. So it is with Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, and even Jeremiah and Ezekiel despite all first appearances to the contrary in the last two cases. Philo, writing within Greek-speaking Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era

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[8] R.E. Clements, *Old Testament Theology: A Fresh Approach* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott) 1978.

[9] A.G. Auld, "Prophets through the Looking Glass: between Writings and Moses," *JSOT* 27 (1983) 3-23; "Prophets and Prophecy in Jeremiah and Kings," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 66-82; and *Amos* (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield: JSOT, 1986).

exhibits a further stage of the same development, when he classes all writers of the Bible as "prophets."

The matter is similar with the use of the phrase "The Word of the Lord" in the prophetic books. In the books associated with the eighth century figures of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, the phrase rarely appears and when it does, it is along with other features that indicate that the context is secondary.

The situation is particularly clear in the fourteen chapters of Hosea. "The Word of the Lord" is used twice only in the whole book: (a) The first occasion is in the formal title to the book (Hos 1:1), "The Word of the Lord that came to Hosea son of Beeri." (b) The other is in the preface to the second and larger section of the book (Hos 4:1) which follows the whole Gomer episode of the opening three chapters with the words "Hear the Word of the Lord, people of Israel." Both of these are doubtless editorial contributions. These tell us nothing of Hosea's usage. In such cases the editor is anticipating our continuing liturgical or theological practice of receiving Hosea's words as "The Word of the Lord."

In other cases, the phrase "The Word of the Lord" is used to claim authority for a later insertion to the message of the eighth century figure. Another way of achieving the same result was to conclude a secondary insertion with the words "says the Lord." I am not asserting (yet) that Amos or Isaiah never closed what they were saying with the words "says the Lord"; but the use of this phrase clusters in what are reckoned on other grounds to be secondary passages. Was it a way by which later anonymous teachers conceded their concern had not the authority of Amos but claimed it was valid all the same?

Amos was a critic of the community of classic proportions. In this he conforms to the protestant image of scripture. But he was not a prophet till the descendants of his community made him one, nor did he purvey the word of God till his successors discerned that quality in his words.

He only became a good prophet when he was a dead one. In fact, if the development of the Amos traditions is a sure guide, poetic critics like Amos were deemed bearers of the divine word even before they were redefined as "prophets." In the short and relatively late biographical note in Amos chapter seven, Amos first denies that he is a prophet and then goes on to preface his denunciation of Amaziah with the words "therefore hear the Word of the Lord" (Amos 7:16). "Woe to you! for you build the tombs of the prophets whom your fathers killed." (Luke 11:47). Tombs that are shrines, and names that are revered, usually belong to people who were much more controversial and much less popular in their own time.

What was the developing tradition doing when it came to call both individual proclamations and whole books "The Word of the Lord"? In its general sense it is likely it became a prophetic category only after prophecy had finished. I doubt if Isaiah or Hosea or even Jeremiah ever actually said "Hear the Word of the Lord" or "The Word of the Lord came to me."

Our problem is compounded because we cannot be sure what "Word of the Lord" meant in a non-prophetic context. In some passages it clearly refers to a divine demand (certainly the man in the street will readily agree that the God of the Old Testament speaks principally in the imperative mode — the negative imperative mode). Yet it can be plausibly argued that each of these cases is part and parcel of, or at least influenced by, the Deuteronomic movement which itself is influenced by classical prophecy.

I cannot at the moment pretend to have penetrated to the beginnings of the process. However I have one or two hunches about intermediate steps. (i) I am struck by the fact that "The Word of the Lord" is found in all the prophetic material of the Hebrew Bible and is especially common in the many prose narratives about past prophets in Kings and Jeremiah. On the other hand it is almost completely absent from the Pentateuch. (ii) I note the textual evidence that in

some passages an original "The Lord spoke to so-and-so" has been altered into "The Word of the Lord came to so-and-so." This change can be very economically made in Hebrew by the addition of two small letters.[10] (iii) We can go on from this to note that a very common formula in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers is: "The Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 'speak to the people of Israel, and say.' And so my suspicion is that this verb formula "The Lord spoke to so-and-so" was once much commoner in the prophets but was altered into the rather more distant and formal "The Word of the Lord came to so-and-so."

It is rightly recognized that the present figure of Moses in the Pentateuch is an idealization of the Prophetic role. If my theory is correct the idea of God speaking to or through mediators was first developed in a re-formation of the prophetic traditions, was extended backwards from the prophets to Moses, while in a final stage prophetic mediation was made rather more distant than that of Moses. Put very crudely: God spoke to Jeremiah before he spoke to Moses; but having spoken to Moses, he dealt rather more remotely with Jeremiah, sending him his word.

What I am arguing is that the biblical presentation of Isaiah and Hosea and the others is the classical precursor of many theological enterprises since. Systematic enquiry requires a degree of order and classification; and this is provided by redefining these eighth century poets as "prophets," and discerning the divine origin of what they said. It is not a neutral presentation of these poets as they were.

Any who value the tradition of scriptural primacy, of the Bible confronting the community rather than the community offering a valid interpretation of the bible, must come to see that the position they oppose is deeply entrenched in

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[10] From *wydbr yhwh 'l* to *wyhy dbr yhwh 'l*... I discuss a similar example of a shift documented in 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21 in *JSOT* 27, 21.

scripture itself. The bible (as it is) is much more a "catholic" than a "protestant" book!

What I am advocating is not an exercise in reductionism. My aim is in no sense to "cut Amos and Isaiah down to size." The purpose is rather to expose them in their true novelty and greatness. To be sure something is lost in the process of what we call "conservation," but that something is like the caked-on casing of candle-grease and saliva, that sedimentation of reverence through the ages, which has made many early Byzantine icons too opaque for ongoing piety, but has at the same time preserved them for contemporary conservationists to expose their original glories. To be sure something is lost: and it is the evidence of a whole tradition of rich devotion, even if devotion to an ever obscurer version of what once was — and in fact not always inspired devotion.

I fear, however, that this may be too optimistic an analogy; and so I suggest another alongside it. If I am an antique dealer or art historian, and a messenger has brought me overland from Tibet a treasured object of hitherto unknown type, at considerable personal cost, and after exotic adventures in country after country — Afghanistan, Iran, ... — I am grateful to him, even if I do notice immediately that the object has been broken and repaired recently more than once. Yet its glaring blemishes sadden me. It does still have beauty. It is still unique. However, its original perfection may be glimpsed only imaginatively. The imperfectly restored work in my hands is a touching memento, and my point of departure for further study; but it is less than the original treasure. The indifferent conservationists either did not know what they were dealing with, or else they were unequal to the task. And despite their honest diligence, there can be no fudging on that artistic score. Some may find that in this model for the transmission of the biblical tradition there is a dangerous elitism lurking. Is the quest for the teaching of Isaiah of Jerusalem or Jesus of Nazareth so hazardous a pursuit that it must be left to the experts?

Amos and his ilk come across not as men of the word but as craftsmen with words. The developed biblical view of the prophet may be of the divine messenger or ambassador. Yet when we use this language we must be careful to think back to a day when diplomacy was conducted much less by detailed messages passing between heads of government whether actually presented by an ambassador or not but by ambassadors or ministers plenipotentiary who had considerable discretion in the development of policy and its formulation. If that poetic succession from Amos to Jeremiah was later re-presented as a series of "servants" duly acknowledged by God then this is in part a judgment that they had in fact been good advocates.[11] It tells us how their authority for a later scriptural age was understood; but leaves unstated how they functioned in their own age.

My submission is that when later generations called Amos and Isaiah "prophets," and received their words as "Word of God," they gave them an honour they had richly deserved but did not claim. At the same time they made them the preserve of the religious, rather than the heritage of the whole community. What might have been intended as an official chain of dignity became in fact a bond. Like Jesus, they had challenged religious self-sufficiency; and yet in scripture read canonically they have become its victim. First-rate performers themselves, they suffer from second-rate producers. This is not necessarily to blame the tradition: it is simply to recognize it for what it is.

They themselves sought to convince by argument rather than compel by authority. Amos makes his appeal to Israel not in terms of divine revelation old or new but by an invidious point to point comparison of her behaviour with that of her neighbours who she knew broke all natural norms. So telling is his language as he surveys Israel's social and religious shortcomings that his accusations once

[11] There are fuller references to the biblical category "his servants the prophets" in *ZAW* 96 (1984) 73-6.

made are unanswerable. As with all good poetry his use of the Hebrew language purifies it whether by returning words to their proper sense away from their conventional misuse, or by a novel clash of ideas where the best of the old was not enough. As for his series of visions — of locust plague, of cosmic fire, of divine munitions, of fruit ripe for the final harvest and the final dream (as if already half awake and more in touch with everyday reality) of the divine imperative to begin the destruction of the land with the demolition of the religious centre these seem to me not his authority to speak, but the ground for his urgency.[12] When we can win through to a glimpse of Amos as he once warned and pleaded, we are often rewarded with a shock. And that is what "canonical" reading puts at risk. Its collegiate harmony tempers novelty and compresses pithy inspiration into established good sense. Concern for scripture in its canonical context first and foremost is a very churchy exercise. Perhaps it is part of the business of the university to help save the church from itself in this matter.

I quoted Northrop Frye already. He concludes *The Great Code* with another telling image: of the Bible in Philistine hands like Samson in Gaza — shaven and shorn, eyes gouged out, reduced to impotence, and set to grind out our concerns and prejudices (p. 233). There is Philistine in all of us. We have to be on the lookout — dare I say it — for their fifth column in the Bible itself. May Samson's hair grow!

[12] These issues are handled in greater detail in my already mentioned Old Testament Guide, *Amos*.

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CINQ OBSERVATIONS SUR LE PSAUME 45

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On s'accorde à peu près à définir le psaume 45 comme un épithalame composé à l'époque royale pour les noces d'un monarque de chair et de sang. Les opinions minoritaires de quelques exégètes qui y voyaient l'oeuvre d'un poète courtisan à l'occasion du mariage d'un souverain païen, perse ou grec,[1] ou d'un prince–prêtre hasmonéen[2] ne sont plus soutenues. L'interprétation messianique directe, qui fut celle de Dom Calmet, a trouvé de nos jours encore quelques partisans, mais leur exégèse est desservie par d'abusives corrections du texte[3] ou par un recours immodéré à l'allégorie lorsqu'il s'agit de rendre compte des versets 10-14 parlant des femmes qui entourent le héros.[4] A l'opposé, certains ont soutenu qu'à l'instar du Cantique des cantiques tel que le comprenait J.G. Wetzstein, le psaume 45 chantait un roi de circonstance, un marié quelconque traité en roi le

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1 E.F. Rosenmüller (*Scholia in Veteris Testamenti libros IV/2* [Leipzig: Sumtibus Io. Amb. Barthii, 1802] 1011) le psaume destiné à un roi perse; J. Olshausen (*Die Psalmen* [Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament; Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1853] 199) pense qu'il chante les noces d'Alexandre Balas et de la fille de Ptolémée VI rappelées en 1 Macc 10: 57-58.

2 B. Duhm (*Die Psalmen* [Kurzer Hand–Commentar zum Alten Testament 14; Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1899] 131) parle d'Aristobule Ier.

3 Voir le commentaire de H. Herkenne, *Das Buch der Psalmen* (Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1936) 171-74.

4 Voir R. Tournay, "Le psaume XLV et le Cantique des cantiques," *Congress Volume: Bonn, 1962* (VTSup 9; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 168-212, en particulier 194-205, et *Les Psaumes* (3ème éd.) de la *Bible de Jérusalem* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1964).

jour de ses noces,[5] mais cette opinion est demeurée très minoritaire. De même il n'a pratiquement pas été envisagé que le mariage royal ait été une célébration périodique, le *hieros gamos* cher à l'école du "Myth and Ritual."[6]

La question qui paraît demeurer ouverte à discussion est celle de l'identité du roi en l'honneur duquel l'épithalame a pu être chanté. On a parlé de Salomon,[7] à cause des affinités du psaume 45 avec le Cantique des cantiques et de la référence à l'or d'Ophir, rappelant 1 Rois 10:11, lue au verset 10. D'autres ont pensé à Achab ou à un roi de Samarie[8]

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5 Citons F. Giesebrecht, "Über die Abfassungszeit der Psalmen," *ZAW* 1 (1881) 276-332, en particulier 317-18. F. Dijkema, "Zu Psalm 45," *ZAW* 27 (1907) 26-32; T.H. Gaster, "Psalm 45," *JBL* 74 (1955) 239-51.

6 I. Engnell, *Gamla Testament I* (Uppsala: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses, 1945) 48 insiste seulement sur le caractère religieux du psaume 45; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im Alten Testament und im Judentum* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1955) 78 et *idem*, "Early Hebrew Myths and their Interpretation," *Myth, Ritual and Kingship* (ed. S.H. Hooke; Oxford: Clarendon, 1958) 199 se montre un peu évasif à propos du psaume 45.

7 [F. Vatable], *Biblia sacra cum universis Franc. Vatabli, et variorum interpretum, annotationibus II* (Paris: Sumptibus Societatis, 1745) 46-47; A.F. Kirkpatrick, *The Book of Psalms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910) 243-44; J. Calès, *Le livre des Psaumes I* (Paris: G. Beauchesne, 1936) 474; E. Kissane, *The Book of Psalms I* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1953) 197; G. Castellino, *Libro dei Salmi* (La sâcra Bibbia; Turin–Rome: Marietti, 1955) 572-73; N. Tur Sinai, *pĕšûṭô šel miqrā' IV/1* (Jérusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1967) 90.

8 Le nom d'Achab envisagé par J. Olshausen (*Die Psalmen*, 199) et beaucoup d'autres, est retenu par H. Schmidt, *Die Psalmen* (HAT 15; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1934) 87; W. Oesterley, *The Psalms* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1939) 250; M. Buttenwieser, *The Psalms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938) 84-89; E. Beaucamp, *Le Psautier* (Sources bibliques; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976) 197. On a aussi pensé à d'autres rois du nord: Jéhu (Ch.A. Briggs et E.G. Briggs, *The Book of Psalms I* [ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1906] 383), Jeroboam II (H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* [HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1926] 193). Selon F. Delitzsch (*Psalms 2* [Clarke's Foreign Theological Library 30; Edinburgh: Clarke, 1871] 74-76) le roi est un davidide et il s'agirait de Yoram; selon E. König (*Die Psalmen* [Gütersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1917] 478), ce serait Josaphat.

en raison de l'allusion du verset 9 aux "palais d'ivoire," rapprochée de 1 Rois 22:39, mais il apparaît que c'est là un cliché dont l'Odyssée (IV 72-73) fait de son côté état en décrivant le palais de Ménélas à Lacédémone. Le nom d'Achab est avancé parce qu'on veut reconnaître Jézabel dans la "fille de Tyr" du verset 13 (comparer 1 Rois 22:39), mais cette épithète peut recevoir une tout autre explication, proposée plus loin. De la sorte, rien n'impose l'opinion reconnaissant dans ce poème un échantillon survivant de la littérature du Nord, hypothèse qui a conduit certains à chercher dans le psaume 45 des particularités linguistiques "israélites." Il est beaucoup plus vraisemblable que le roi de l'épithalame est un descendant de David, et il serait vain de proposer un nom tant sont imprécises les références concrètes du poème. Le propos de cette note est donc ailleurs. On souhaite attirer l'attention sur quelques détails du psaume 45 qui semblent avoir fait couler moins d'encre que le verset 7 si souvent invoqué pour accorder ou refuser au roi la qualité d'*ʾĕlōhîm*. On pense contribuer ainsi à élucider la structure du psaume.

I. Sur le verset 2

Ce verset constitue un exorde où le poète s'exprime à la 1ère personne comme en Psaumes 49:4-5 et 111:1 et comme en bien d'autres poèmes de la littérature universelle. Seule la construction de 2 *a* peut donner lieu à discussion. Beaucoup ont traité *maʿăśay*, traduit "mes oeuvres," comme le complément direct de *ʾōmēr ʾānî*, "je dis," quelques–uns ont estimé que ces "oeuvres" étaient des "oeuvres littéraires," B. Duhm allant jusqu'à présumer que le grec *poiēmata* expliquait cette acception de *maʿăśîm*. Mais ce nom, sans autre détermination, dénote plus souvent les "activités" que les "créations" d'un homme, de sorte que la traduction la plus convenable serait "travaux."[9] Comme le tour peu fréquent

[9] Quand on considère que le nom *maʿăśay* désigne le psaume lui–même, le pluriel embarrasse, c'est pourquoi R. Kittel (*Die Psalmen* [KAT 13;

où un participe est suivi du pronom sujet paraît marquer une insistance sur l'action notée par le verbe, ainsi qu'on le voit en Genèse 31:5 où *rō'eh 'ănōkî* signifie "je vois bien (que...),"[10] on lira au début du verset une affirmation solennelle: "je déclare: (ce qui suit)," et dans la fin de l'hémistiche, *ma'ăśay lĕmelek*, une proposition nominale, "mes travaux sont pour le roi," par laquelle l'auteur revendique le statut de poète officiel.

L'hémistiche *b* introduit une comparaison qui n'est pas sans intérêt pour situer cette poésie de cour israélite dont le psaume 45 paraît bien être un exemple. Le poète dit de sa langue qu'elle est "le burin d'un habile scribe."[11] Deux occurences sur quatre du nom *'ēṭ* le présentent déterminé par *barzel*, (Jérémie 17:1 et Job 19:24), les deux autres (Psaumes 45:2 et Jérémie 8:8) n'imposent nullement la traduction par "calame" qui pourrait se recommander de la plupart des versions anciennes. Avec Symmaque (*grapheion*) et Jérome (*stilus*), on verra en ce *'ēṭ* l'instrument du lapicide. En employant cette image, l'auteur veut dire que son poème a pour son roi une fonction semblable à celle des inscriptions royales gravées sur la pierre en d'autres pays.

Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1914] 171) y voit une forme archaïque pour *ma'ăśeh*. Selon J. Schildenberger, "Zur Textkritik von Ps 45 (44)," *BZ* 3 (1959) 31-43, il s'agirait d'un pluriel d'intensification revenant à dire "ma grande oeuvre."

10 Il n'y a pas lieu de tenir la formule *'ōmēr 'ănî* pour caractéristique d'un style prophetique comme le croit S. Mowinckel (*Psalmenstudien III* [Kristiana: J. Dybwad, 1923] 97), ni que *ma'ăśay* s'applique a "ein wirksames, prophetisches Werk." Le passage cité de la Genèse indique qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de regarder le tour participe + pronom indépendant pour un aramaïsme comme le croit F. Baethgen (*Die Psalmen* [2ème éd.; HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1897] 127).

11 Esdras 7:6 et la première ligne du texte araméen d'Ahiqar suggèrent que *māhîr* ("habile" d'après Isaïe 16:5 et Proverbes 22: 29) est une épithète de nature pour le "scribe."

II. Sur l'hémistiche 9 b

Du verset 3 au verset 9 le psalmiste s'adresse au roi, tout en l'exhortant, pour célébrer sa beauté et les vertus royales de vaillance et de justice. Le discours destiné au roi tout en parlant de lui s'achève au verset 9. A partir du verset 10, même si les pronoms de 2e personne masculin renvoient au roi, ce n'est plus de lui qu'il est question, mais des personnages féminins qui l'entourent, jusqu'à ce que le poète reprenne la parole pour son compte au verset 18 ("Je ferai faire mention de ton nom...") qui fait inclusion avec le verset 2.[12] Situé à peu près à la jointure des deux parties du psaume, l'hémistiche 9 *b* est particulièrement digne d'attention, d'autant plus qu'il est très difficile à comprendre, à cause d'un mot, ***minnî***. Les versions anciennes marquent là-dessus une hésitation révélatrice. Les Septante et Jérôme semblent avoir lu ***mimmennû***, en relative asyndétique ayant pour antécédent ***hêkĕlê šēn***, "palais d'ivoire," traité comme un collectif: "les palais d'ivoire à partir desquels on te fête."[13] C'est aussi la solution de Yefet ibn Ali ("c'est de là qu'on te fête") et d'Ibn Ezra. Ce dernier entendait écarter l'étrange interprétation du Targoum, qui était encore celle de David al Fassi[14] (conservée par E. F. Rosenmüller), traitant ***minnî*** comme un déterminant de ***šēn***, "ivoire," identique au toponyme que Jérémie 51: 27 cite entre l'Ararat et la Scythie (***'aškĕnaz***), comme si l'ivoire pouvait venir d'une contrée aussi septentrionale. La grande majorité des exégètes modernes préfère une explication proposée par Sebastian Schmid au 17e siècle[15] et veut trouver ici une déformation de ***minnîm***

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12 Comme l'a vu H. Ewald (*Die Psalmen und die Klaglieder* [3ème éd.; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1866] 88-96).

13 Edition J. Bargès, *Libri psalmorum David regis et prophetae* (Paris: B. Duprat, 1861) 90.

14 *Kitāb jāmi' al 'alfāẓ II* (édition S.L. Skoss; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945) 216.

15 D'après W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae, II* (Leipzig: Sumtibus Fr. Chr. Guil. Vogelii, 1839) 799.

désignant en Psaumes 150:4 des instruments de musique et qu'on tient pour apparenté au syriaque *mentā*, pluriel *mennî*, "cordes."[16] La forme aberrante qu'attesterait Psaumes 45:9 serait due à une chute accidentelle du *–m* du pluriel ou à l'adoption de la marque de ce nombre en araméen oriental. Il est curieux qu'aucun sort n'ait été fait à l'interprétation commune à la version syriaque et à Rashi: *minnî* est la forme poétique de la préposition *min* munie du suffixe de 1ère personne du singulier; le syriaque a *men lĕwat*[*y*], "de chez moi," et Rashi, supposant que la 1ère personne se rapporte à Dieu, estime que *minnî* se rapporte à *hêkĕlê šēn* et qualifie les palais qui viennent de Dieu et récompenseront le fidèle plus que les palais terrestres. Il est beaucoup plus probable qu'au début de l'hémistiche, *min hêkĕlê* ..., la préposition a son sens locatif habituel, "à partir de"; dans *minnî*, elle a une acception d'origine élargie, indiquant que la célébration vient du poète qui parle ici de lui–même. Je propose ainsi de traduire l'hémistiche, en paraphrasant légèrement, "depuis les palais d'ivoire on te célèbre par ma bouche." Si le poète reprend ici la parole à la 1ère personne, comme il l'a fait au verset 2 et comme il le fait à nouveau au verset 18, on saisit un procédé du psalmiste qui marque bien l'articulation du psaume.

III. Sur les versets 10 et 11

La seconde partie du psaume 45 qui se tourne vers les femmes entourant le roi est beaucoup plus difficile que la première. Après le verset 10 où le poète parle encore au roi,

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16 On traduit "cordes," "luths," "harpes," ou "concerts." Briggs and Briggs (*Psalms*, 388) refusent cette explication, mais se contentent de reprendre la traduction des Septante. B. D. Eerdmans (*The Hebrew Book of Psalms* [*OTS* 4; Leiden: Brill, 1947] 250-51) voit en *minnî* un nom d'instrument de musique. Les conjectures de F. Wutz (*Die Psalmen textkritisch untersucht* [Munich: Kösel & Pustet, 1925] 115) et de M. Dahood (*Psalms I* [AB 16; New York: Doubleday, 1966] 274) défient la vraisemblance. N. Tur Sinai (*pĕšûṭô šel miqrā' IV/1*, 94) n'a pas osé faire d'hypothèse sur *minnî*.

les versets 11-14 sont caractérisés par des suffixes de 2e personne du féminin singulier montrant qu'on parle à une femme qui ne peut être que la nouvelle épouse. A qui d'autre dirait–on "ma fille...oublie ton peuple et ta famille"? On a voulu voir dans cette phrase l'indice de l'origine étrangère de l'épouse, mais il n'y a pas de raison suffisante, car il n'est pas sûr que le nom *'am* dénote ici un peuple étranger, ce pourrait être simplement le clan de la nouvelle mariée. On ne paraît guère s'être interrogé sur la personne qui est censée s'adresser ainsi à la jeune femme et on admet communément que le poète s'attribue une sorte d'autorité paternelle, comme si la jeune mariée etait d'une certaine manière son élève. On n'a guère tenu compte du parallèle d'idée le plus proche de l'exhortation du verset 11: c'est la parole de Ruth à sa belle–mère Noémie en Ruth 1:16, qui pourrait exprimer l'acquiescement d'une jeune mariée à la recommandation lue au verset 11: "ton peuple sera mon peuple." Ce parallèle invite à croire que les versets 11-14 sont mis par le poète dans la bouche de la mère du roi s'adressant à sa bru.

Ce serait alors la reine mère qu'il conviendrait de reconnaître dans la *šēgal* du verset 10, assise à la droite du roi et parée d'or d'Ophir. Le nom a été fort discuté. S'il a été compris "reine" par les Septante, Théodotion, la Sexta, la version syriaque, ainsi que par Rashi et le Targoum (qui allégorise en parlant à ce propos du "livre de la Loi"), le nom a reçu une connotation péjorative chez Aquila, Symmaque et dans la Quinta parlant de "concubine," ce que reprend Ibn Ezra. Il est vrai que les références de Daniel 5:2, 3 et 23 n'invitent pas à donner à la *šēgal* une dignité particulière. L'apparition de ce nom en araméen dans le livre de Daniel est compté parmi les indices souvent allégués d'un style araméisant et d'une datation tardive du psaume 45. Mais on peut se demander si le nom n'a pas subi une évolution sémantique, du psaume à Daniel, évolution dans laquelle Néhémie 2:6 serait plus près du psaume, car ce texte reconnaît à la *šēgal* du roi perse une position d'honneur. Il faut revenir sur l'histoire du mot. Malgré des objections de H.

Zimmern, B. Landsberger[17] a repris l'étymologie assyrienne par *ša ekalli*, "celle du palais" et, après une revue des attestations, conclut que le terme a été adopté par l'hébreu, à l'époque royale, pour remplacer le terme ancien de *gĕbîrâ* donné à la reine-mère en 1 Rois 15:13 et en Jérémie 29:2, passage qui montre en elle le second personnage de l'État.[18] Les références hébraïques à la *gĕbîrâ* ne sont cependant pas assez anciennes pour qu'on soit sûr de la priorité de cette désignation sur le nom *šēgal* qui, au jugement même de B. Landsberger, a pu être emprunté à l'assyrien dès le 9e siècle.

La *šēgal* devrait donc se distinguer nettement des "filles de roi" nommées au début du verset 10. Le pluriel a paru surprenant à ceux qui pensent que la *šēgal* est la jeune reine et que le roi ne doit épouser qu'une seule "fille de roi." C'est pourquoi quelques exégètes ont substitué le singulier "une fille de roi" au pluriel, à l'instar de la version syriaque, ainsi H. Schmidt, H. Herkenne, W. Oesterley, H.J. Kraus;[19] E. Beaucamp n'hésite pas a traiter *bĕnôt mĕlākîm* de "faux pluriel."[20] On a évidemment cherché à écarter, ce faisant, toute idée de polygynie royale (ou messianique). Mais le texte n'indique nullement que les "filles de roi" sont toutes destinées à devenir des reines. Plusieurs ont refusé, pour la même raison, de traduire littéralement la fin de l'hémistiche: "... (sont) parmi tes favorites." Si *yāqār* est rarement appliqué à des personnes, il l'est cependant en Lamentations 4:2. Il ne paraît pas nécessaire de rendre ici

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[17] B. Landsberger, "Akkadisch-hebräische Wortgleichungen," *Hebräische-Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner* (VTSup 16; Leiden: Brill, 1967) 176-204, en particulier pp. 198-204.

[18] Voir H. Donner, "Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königinmutter im Alten Testament," *Festschrift J. Friedrich* (éd. R. von Kienle; Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1959) 105-45.

[19] Schmidt, *Psalmen*, 84; Herkenne, *Psalmen*, 173; Oesterley, *Psalms*, 250-51; H.-J. Kraus, *Die Psalmen I* (BKAT 15; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1960) 330, 331, 336.

[20] Beaucamp, *Psautier*, 196.

yĕqārôt par "joyaux,"[21] ni de corriger en *bĕyiqrûtĕkā*, "en ton honneur,"[22] ou en *bĕqîrôtêkā*, "dans tes murs,"[23] ou en *liqrā'tĕkā*, "(vont) a ta rencontre,"[24] pour ne citer que les émendations le plus souvent proposées. Le poète laisse entendre que son héros peut prétendre trouver femme parmi des princesses royales, mais non qu'il en épouse plusieurs. Peut-être même la mention de la *šēgal*, aussitôt après celle des princesses convoitées par le roi, suggère-t-elle que la reine-mère intervenait dans le choix.[25]

IV. Sur le verset 13

Seul fait problème dans ce verset la fonction du syntagme initial, *bat ṣōr*, "fille de Tyr." Si l'on ne corrige ni le texte ni la coupe, il y a deux solutions. La version des Septante, qui traite *bat ṣōr* comme un collectif et traduit "filles de Tyr," en fait un sujet du verbe *yĕḥallû (pānîm)*, "flatter, séduire, chercher à se concilier," qui serait repris par *'ăšîrê 'am*, "les riches du peuple," la "fille de Tyr" pouvant passer

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21 Ainsi Kittel, *Psalmen*, 171-72; Duhm, *Psalmen*, 129; Castellino, *Libro dei Salmi*, 578; Beaucamp, *Psautier*, 196; Briggs and Briggs (*Psalms*, 388) optent pour des "habits précieux," de même Kissane (*Psalms I*, 198).

22 Cette correction pourrait se recommander des Septante, de Jérôme et du Targoum.

23 Herkenne, *Psalmen*, 173; Dahood (*Psalms I*, 269) traduit "in your mansions."

24 H. Graetz, *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen I* (Breslau: S. Schottländer, 1882) 320; Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 189; Calès, *Psaumes*, 466, 469; Schmidt, *Psalmen*, 85; E. Podechard, *Le psautier I* (Lyon: Facultés catholiques, 1949) 199; F. Nötscher, *Echter Bibel* (Würzburg: Echter, 1947) 90; Kraus, *Psalmen*, 331.

25 Bien que tous les exégètes paraissent considérer que le poème alphabétique de Proverbes 31:10-32, le célèbre éloge de la "femme forte," est totalement indépendant des "paroles de Lemuel" qui le précèdent aux versets 1-9, on se demandera si la jonction ne s'est pas faite parce que 31:1*b* parle d'une leçon donnée à Lemuel par sa mère. Ne serait-ce pas à la mère de guider son fils dans le choix d'une épouse? Cf. Genèse 21:21.

pour une personnification de la richesse en raison de l'opulence proverbiale de la cité phénicienne. On retrouve cette construction chez Symmaque, qui semble avoir lu *ṣûr*, "roc," image de "force," au lieu de *ṣōr*, puisqu'il traduit "la fille forte apportera des présents," dans le Targoum qui paraphrase "les habitants de la ville de Tyr viendront avec une offrande" et chez Yefet ibn 'Ali. Ce dernier semble avoir substitué *pānêkā* à *pānayik* et suppose que c'est le roi lui-même qui doit recevoir les présents annoncés; cette opinion paraît très minoritaire, et pour les nombreux exégètes qui traitent *bat ṣōr* en sujet, c'est bien à la jeune reine qu'on annonce les présents de la "fille de Tyr" et des riches.[26] La seconde solution fait de *bat ṣōr* un vocatif repris par le suffixe pronominal féminin de *pānayik*: c'est la jeune reine qui est appelée "fille de Tyr" et qui doit recevoir les hommages des gens riches.[27] Présentée par la version hiéronymienne,

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26 Ainsi ont compris Olshausen, *Die Psalmen*, 203; E. Reuss, *La Bible, Poésie lyrique* (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1879) 184-89; Baethgen, *Psalmen*, 129; Briggs and Briggs, *Psalms*, 389-90; W. Staerk, *Lyrik* (Die Schriften des Alten Testaments 3/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1920) 288; Duhm, *Psalmen*, 130; Podechard, *Le psautier*, 200; Kissane, *Psalms I*, 198; Nötscher, *Echter Bibel*, 90; Castellino, *Libro dei Salmi*, 578; Tournay, "Psaume XLV," 199-200; L. Alonso-Schöckel, *Salmos* (Los libros sagrados; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1966) 124. Selon Rosenmüller (*Scholia IV/2*, 1028) "la fille de Tyr" est en *casus pendens* et il faudrait comprendre ensuite "les riches de *son* peuple apporteront des présents."

27 C'est l'opinion de F. Hitzig, *Die Psalmen, I* (Leipzig: C. Winter, 1863) 252-53; J. Halévy, *Recherches bibliques, III* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1905) 134; König, *Psalmen*, 476-77; Schmidt, *Psalmen*, 84; Eerdmans, *Book of Psalms*, 248, 252; A. Weiser, *Die Psalmen I* (ATD 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1950) 233. D'autre exégètes ont voulu rattacher à *ûbat ṣōr bĕminḥâ* la fin du verset 12 *wĕhištaḥăwî lô* de manière à comprendre "ô fille de Tyr prosterne toi devant lui avec une offrande" (Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 189, 192; Kraus, *Psalmen*, 330; Beaucamp, *Sources bibliques*, 196); Oesterley (*Psalms I*, 251) a voulu raffiner et propose "que (le roi) se prosterne devant toi (!), fille de Tyr avec une offrande." Kittel (*Psalmen*, 171-72) a corrigé *ûbat ṣōr* en *ûbā'â ʿîr*, "la ville viendra (avec une offrande)"; Wutz (*Psalmen*, 115) lit *bĕ'ōṣar*, "avec un trésor"; Dahood (*Psalms I*, 270) prête à *bat* le sens de "robe" ("a Tyrian robe is among your gifts").

cette interprétation paraît la plus plausible. Elle est souvent invoquée pour donner à la princesse une origine phénicienne, mais l'hypothèse se s'impose pas, car la référence à Tyr peut n'être qu'une métaphore pour désigner la richesse de la jeune reine, richesse non encore acquise, mais promise par le poète. C'est ainsi que dans le poème ougaritique *KTU* 1.24 (lignes 25-26) le héros est appelé "gendre de Baal" au moment où le marieur lui fait seulement entrevoir ce parti. La fortune de la jeune femme lui sera assurée par les "riches du peuple," entendons "les riches d'Israël" (et non pas comme le dit le Targoum les riches ou les plus riches des nations apportant leur tribut au temple de Jérusalem). Les riches chercheront à acheter l'appui de la reine afin que celle-ci intervienne en leur faveur auprès du roi son mari. Il y a là un trait de moeurs rappelant l'argument du poème ougaritique où est racontée la construction du palais de Baal (*KTU* 1.3 VI-1.4 IV): la déesse Athirat obtient le consentement d'El son époux à l'édification du palais lorsque les cadeaux fabriqués par Kothar-Khasis l'ont décidée à intervenir pour appuyer la demande de Baal et de ʿAnat.

V. Sur le verset 15

L'évocation de la cérémonie nuptiale ne parle que d'une épouse au verset 14 qui après avoir dit la prestance *(kĕbud[d]â)* de celle-ci signale dans le second hémistiche qu'elle porte des vêtements ornés de pierreries serties dans de l'or (*mišbĕṣôt zāhāb*). En 15 *b* et 16, il est question des compagnes de la jeune reine qui la suivent au milieu des cris de joie dans le palais royal. S'il est dit qu'elles sont conduites au roi, cela peut signifier que les suivantes vont devenir ses odalisques, et lui former un harem, mais cette interprétation est seulement possible et non obligatoire. Il n'y a en tout cas qu'une épouse, et c'est d'elle que parle l'hémistiche 15 *a*, comme le verset 14. Tous les interprètes ont été embarassés par l'hébreu *lirĕqāmôt* qui ouvre l'hémistiche. Le substantif est connu, et il n'y a pas lieu de contester l'interprétation qu'en ont donnée presque tous les

anciens: les *rĕqāmôt* sont des étoffes brodées ou diaprées. On est donc tenté de voir en 15 *a* la suite du verset 14 décrivant la vêture de la princesse qui est "conduite au roi" (*tûbal lammelek*). Mais on butte sur la préposition *l*– précédant *rĕqāmôt*, les versions anciennes traduisent comme si ce *l*– équivalait à un *b*– de sorte que les *rĕqāmôt* seraient les habits de la dame; c'est particulièrement net dans les versions des Septante et de Symmaque qui rattachent *lirĕqāmôt* à *lĕbûšâ*, "vêtue," du verset 14 et semblent en faire une détermination parallèle à *mimmišbĕṣôt zāhāb* où la préposition *min* indique de quoi elle est vêtue. Faut–il dire avec Ibn Ezra que *l*– est pour *b*–? La préposition est beaucoup mieux traduite par Aquila, en dépit du littéralisme rendant peu intelligible sa version. Il a rendu *lirĕqāmôt* par *eis poikilta*, "dans (ou vers) des (tissus) brodés (ou bariolés)." Si, en suivant le texte reçu et non les versions grecques, on fait de *lirĕqāmôt* une détermination locale de *tûbal* et non de *lĕbûšâ*, la préposition doit se comprendre comme l'a entendu Aquila: les étoffes brodées vers lesquelles la princesse est conduite pour être donnée au roi sont celles d'une tente nuptiale, d'une *ḥuppâ*, et non celles qui parent la jeune mariée.

HAS YHWH CURSED THE GROUND? PERPLEXITY OF INTERPRETATION IN GENESIS 1-5

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The purpose of this essay is to determine if Lamech's speech in Genesis 5:29 represents the teaching of the text regarding the condition of the ground.[1]

This essay shows that Genesis 1-5 is a coherent, intelligible whole which teaches that the interpretation of words and actions attributed to God unfolds within a perplexity biased toward the view that God is not benevolent. This interpretive process is discerned through a close and careful contextual reading of Genesis 1-5 with focused attention on the divergence within the speeches of God and between these speeches and the responses to them.

The question posed by this essay is justified to the extent that Genesis has an impact on how human beings understand and consequently order themselves.[2] Lamech's teaching in

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[1] Recent scholarship concerning Genesis 5:29 is primarily directed towards the interpretation and explanation of Noah's name and its relation to the advent of prophecy. Lamech's statement is assumed to represent the teaching of the text. See G. von Rad, *Genesis* (The Westminster Press: Philadelphia, 1961) 70; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (Doubleday and Company, Inc: New York, 1964) 40-41; D. Kidner, *Genesis* (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1967) 80-81; U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1972) 288-289; H. Morris, *The Genesis Record* (Grand Rapids: Baker House Books) 160-161; Claus Westermann, *Genesis* (Neukirchen-Vluyn:Neukirchener Ver., 1974).

[2] That extent may be measured by the study of Thomas Hobbes who recalls the account of creation in Genesis by way of introducing *Leviathan* (Markham: Pelican, 1971, 81).

Genesis 5:29 has direct implications for human ordering. For example, a people, believing YHWH to have cursed the ground may conclude that only He can remove the curse and that they can do nothing but wait and seek consolation. A people believing that the ground is cursed because of human action may conclude that human beings can overcome that condition. For the former, labour itself may be seen as ceaseless and futile, to be relegated to slaves. For the latter, it may be seen as intense but purposeful, supported by rest. A careful study of Lamech's teaching may clarify Genesis in respect to those human orders that either view labour in the form of ruling the earth a blessing or toiling the ground a curse.[3]

The question what does a text teach leads to the question how does it teach.[4] Current understanding of Genesis is largely determined by the view that it consists of originally distinct sources that have been joined together in a literary whole that, while coherent in a broad sense, still gives clear evidence of its parts. This view says that the text teaches several things at once. As a consequence the intelligent and skilled reader must sort out the different teachings through a rearrangement that vanquishes all contradictions, discrepancies and duplications and order the appearance of certain themes and terms, especially the divine name. In brief, this view says that the text does not teach through these literary phenomena because they are obstacles in the way of its teaching.

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3 Hobbes' account of human life as "solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short" (Ibid., 186) and of a commonwealth that would alleviate the harsh conditions illustrates the relationship between how human beings are perceived and how they would be ordered.

4 Associating what the Bible teaches, especially in relation to human ordering, with a methodology of reading based on a perception of how it teaches is rooted in the foundations of modern biblical science. See E. Combs, "The Political Teaching of Genesis I-XI," *Studia Biblica 1978* (JSOTSS; Sheffield: JSOT, 1979) 105-110; "Spinoza's Method of Biblical Interpretation and his Political Philosophy", in *Modernity and Responsibility* (Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1983) 7-28.

Genesis has a rich, subtle inner coherency when read with an openness to the view that such matters as contradictions which tend to startle us are part of a literary strategy intended to teach us.[5] The matters which startle us receive our focused attention and so lead to a deeper insight and understanding.

This essay explores the suggestion that just as we, upon reading Genesis 1 and 2, are startled by two contradictory accounts of beginnings which we must interpret in some manner, so also the figures within the narrative (including earth, firmament, etc.) confront contradictory sayings and accounts of God which they must interpret in some manner. Genesis 3, 4 and 5 are studied as an unfolding of the process in which we, along with the biblical figures, participate in receiving, interpreting and finally understanding what God has said and done. Using the term God to comprehend Elohim, YHWH Elohim, and YHWH is itself our interpretive solution to the same perplexity experienced by the figures in the narrative. The term, fusing distinct names, obscures significant differences in their associated traditions in a manner comparable to the interpretive process in Genesis 3-5.

An overview focuses details in the text that are attended in exploring what and how the text teaches.

1. In Genesis 1 there is a divergence within what Elohim says about the coming to be of things and what actually comes to be. The divergence results from the interpretation given by what comes to be of what Elohim says.

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5 See R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981). An impressive work which examines Genesis as a coherent narrative is R. Sacks, *The Lion and the Ass* (in serial form in *Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy* [1980, Vol. 8/2, 3, 29; 1981, Vol. 9/1, 1; 1982, Vol. 10/1, 67; Vol. 10/2, 3, 273; 1983, Vol. 11/1, 87; Vol. 11/2, 249; Vol. 11/3, 353; 1984, Vol. 12/1, 49; Vol. 12/2, 3, 141]).

2. Divergence is observed in Genesis 2 in the responses of the man to what YHWH Elohim says. This divergence is explained as the result of the man's interpreting what YHWH Elohim says. Genesis 1 and Genesis 2 establish interpretation as an important process with important consequences.

3. In Genesis 3 the interpretive process is carried out by the serpent, man and the woman through a fusing, if not confusing, of the Elohim speeches in Genesis 1 and the YHWH Elohim speeches in Genesis 2. Their interpretation displays a tendency to attribute severity to God where none is intended.

4.This tendency is evident in Genesis 4 in the speeches and actions of Cain. With Genesis 4, the negating of God's benevolence becomes an established feature to be expected in subsequent interpretive moments.

5. Genesis 5 is a thorough interpretation of the speeches and events present in Genesis 1-4. The interpretation includes inversion, omission and addition of information, culminating in Lamech's speech in 5:29 which attributes to YHWH what has not been explicitly stated. The view that YHWH has cursed the ground is not the view of the text. It is the view of a figure, who, in the view of the text, represents a tendency to view God as merciless.

I

Elohim says let there be light and there is light (1:3). Elohim does not take further action, such as making or creating because the light appears of its own accord exactly as spoken by Elohim. There is no divergence within Elohim's speech and light's response to it. In comparison to day one the other five days are characterized in varying detail by divergence within Elohim's speeches and the responses of things to the speeches.

On the second day Elohim speaks in the same manner concerning the firmament as He did concerning light (1:6). On analogy with the light the firmament would come to be, including a separation between waters. However, the firmament does not come to be by itself in the way light did. Instead Elohim has to make the firmament and cause it to separate the waters (1:7). The waters themselves can, of their own accord, gather into one place in order to let dry land appear (1:9-10). Dry land, called earth, might have the capacity to do as directed by Elohim.

On the third day Elohim calls for earth to "grass grass" with herb seeding seed, fruit tree making fruit after its kind which has its seed in it (1:11). However, the earth does not grass grass; instead it "brings forth grass" with herb seeding seed according to its kind and fruit tree making fruit which has its seed in it after its kind (1:12). The earth, which appeared of its own accord as the waters gathered into one place (1:9), does not do what it is directed to do. It does not or cannot grass grass but it can and does bring forth grass with not just herb seeding seed but herb seeding seed according to its kind.

On the fourth day Elohim says for lights to be in the firmament to cause a separation between the day and between the night and for them to be for signs, for appointments and for days and for years, and for causing light upon the earth (1:14,15). On analogy with light in day one, the lights of the fourth day would immediately come to be of their own accord. They do not. Elohim makes them and assigns them functions that differ from what was said for them to be (1:16,17,18). They are for ruling day and night, for causing light upon the earth, and for causing a separation between light and darkness. The divergence within what Elohim says and what He makes suggests that the lights cannot do as they are directed; nonetheless, Elohim makes them, assigning them functions in keeping with their status as "made" things rather than as "be" things.

On the fifth day Elohim speaks for the waters to swarm swarms with living things and for fowl to fly upon the earth

and upon the firmament (1:20). The waters, which have the capacity to gather in one place of their own (1:9), do not have the capacity to swarm swarms as directed. Instead, Elohim creates the great sea-monsters, the living things, moving things which swarm the waters, and every fowl (1:21). What Elohim creates, as opposed to what the waters might have swarmed, differs in respect to the variety of things specified, namely, the sea-monsters and moving things which swarm.

The earth did not grass grass but it did bring forth (1:12). On the sixth day Elohim speaks to earth to bring forth again, to bring forth living things, beasts, moving things, and living of the earth (1:24). However, the earth does not bring forth. Instead Elohim has to make the beasts and the moving things (1:25). Divergence is particularly evident with the coming to be of man. In the first statement (1:26) Elohim says let us make man in our image and after our likeness and let them have dominion over the fish, fowl, beasts, and earth, and moving things. However, in the second statement (1:27) Elohim is said to create the man in His image (not "our") without reference to likeness and to bless them, giving them dominion over the fish, the fowl, and the living of the moving things upon earth. No mention is made of man's having dominion over the beasts and the earth itself.

The composition of the passages within days one through six resembles on an extended scale the familiar parallelism of terms that characterizes the Psalms and other poetic writings in the Hebrew Bible. That is, to a first line a second is added that is akin to the first but differs in some respect either by the addition or subtraction of words, phrases, or ideas. The differences between the two sets of statements can be overlooked by the view that they are essentially synonymous. However, in Genesis 1 the regularly occurring divergence within Elohim's speeches and the responses to them in the second through the sixth days appears to constitute a literary strategy intended by the author to teach that in the reporting of God's sayings and doings

there is a fundamental and on-going process of interpretation characterized by a certain perplexity on part of the interpreters. This process, quietly exposed first of all even in the seemingly uniform tradition associated with the name Elohim, becomes explicitly evident in the tradition bearing the name YHWH beginning in Genesis 2.

By showing there to be a divergence within Elohim's speeches and the actions that follow and especially by showing that certain things, such as earth, do not respond exactly as spoken to, the text finds the process of interpretation, if not the potential for misinterpretation, in creation itself. Against the implicit teaching that things are not exactly as Elohim first said for them to be and that things exist as they are partly as a result of their not conforming to Elohim's saying, the explicit teaching that all which Elohim made is very good (1:31) becomes particularly compelling. But even this teaching is not without ambiguity since, strictly speaking, Elohim only made certain things, while He created others.

II

In Genesis 2:5 two conditions are stated for the lack of vegetation on earth: YHWH Elohim had not caused rain upon the earth and there was not a man to serve the ground. The expectation that YHWH Elohim will cause rain and that man will serve the ground is not met. In 2:6 a mist comes up from the earth to water the ground. YHWH Elohim does not cause the rain. In light of the previous verses in which earth does not do as Elohim speaks it should be observed that in this instance earth does what YHWH Elohim would have had it do but which He does not ask it to do. Man does not serve the ground. After forming man (2:7), YHWH Elohim (not the man) plants a garden in Eden and causes to sprout every tree.

In 2:18 YHWH Elohim says that it is not good for man to be by himself and determines to make for him a help-mate

or counterpart. The expectation that man will name his counterpart is not met. YHWH Elohim forms all the living of the field and every fowl of the heavens and brings them to man to be named (2:19). The man gives names to the beasts, to the fowl and to the living of the field, but he names none of them as his counterpart (2:20). It is striking that the man names all the beasts. According to 2:19 YHWH Elohim formed only the living of the field and the fowl; He formed neither the beasts nor brought them to the man. The beasts were to have been among the group of creatures over which man was to have dominion (1:26). However, the beasts are not among the entities over which man is actually given dominion (1:28). By the closest possible reading of the text the beasts are not under man's dominion and were not brought to man to be named. By his interpretation of what YHWH Elohim says man assigns to himself dominion over the beasts by naming them.

Man's further assigning dominion to himself through interpretation is evident in his relation to the woman (2:21 - 25). The expectation remains that the man will name her as his counterpart. YHWH Elohim builds her from the man's side (2:22) and brings her to him. The man focuses entirely on her resemblance to himself and so names her woman, ignoring the teaching that she is created in the image of Elohim (1:27), not man. The man does not name her as the counterpart who would have been opposite him so that he would not be by himself. The text itself comments on what has transpired: the man and woman are as one flesh (2:24). Their oneness is the consequence of man's action, not YHWH Elohim's will. Man's assuming some dominance over the beasts opposes what Elohim states in Genesis 1:28 and YHWH Elohim in 2:19, but fulfils what Elohim states in 1:26. In a sense man fulfils Elohim's original intention but does so on his own terms by naming the beasts. However, in naming the being built by YHWH Elohim "woman" man opposes YHWH Elohim's intention that man not be by himself since the man and woman are one; the man, having no counterpart, remains by himself.

Man's role over beasts and woman results from an interpretation of YHWH Elohim's speech rather than from an explicit fulfilling of what YHWH Elohim says. Based on analogy with the occurrence of divergence in Genesis 1 one should not say that the man's interpretation wilfully opposes YHWH Elohim; rather man's interpretation is part of a process that began in creation itself.

III

Elohim says that all the trees upon earth will be for food (1:29). There is no exception. YHWH Elohim says eat from every tree in the garden except the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (3:16,17). The second speech states an exception, which imposes a limit. The divergence of the two speeches is consistent with the pattern observed in Genesis 1. The imposition of a limit is especially consistent with the divergence observed in the creation of man (1:26-28). The account of Elohim's action following His speech neither mentions "likeness" (1:27) nor "beasts" (1:28). The action begins to be a condition that is limited in two respects as compared to the original statement (1:26).

Elohim makes the living of the earth (1:25) to which He gives the trees for food (1:29). The entity known as the living of the field is formed by YHWH Elohim (2:19), among which may be counted the serpent (3:1). The serpent, associated with the name YHWH Elohim, would be expected to refer to the speech of YHWH Elohim concerning food. However, the serpent, in referring to Elohim (3:1) appears to be recalling the speech about eating associated with Elohim (1:29), not YHWH Elohim; by referring to the garden, the serpent appears to be recalling the speech about eating associated with YHWH Elohim, who formed him. The serpent fuses the two speeches. In fusing them the serpent draws out a severe limitation that was not contained in either speech. Elohim says eat all the trees (1:29). YHWH Elohim says eat all but one (3:16,17). The serpent says eat from none of the trees in the garden.

Why the serpent attributes such a severe limitation on Elohim is explicable by the assumption that the serpent, like the careful reader, notes that an element of limitation characterizes the divergence in Elohim's speech about man and the actual creation of man. Seeing this quietly narrated limitation alongside the more explicit limitation stated by YHWH Elohim the serpent may regard its stating the most severe limitation possible to be in line with, if not pleasing to, Elohim.

The woman attributes two restrictions to Elohim, the first not stated by Elohim and the second not stated by YHWH Elohim. She says that the fruit of the tree of the garden may be eaten (3:2). She is correct in attributing the language about fruit to Elohim (1:29) since there is no reference to fruit in the subsequent speech (2:16,17). Elohim's words are that all the trees, including the fruit trees, are for food. She restricts what may be eaten to fruit alone. She then imposes a restriction upon the actual limitation set by YHWH Elohim by saying that the fruit of the tree in the midst of the garden may not be eaten (3:3). YHWH Elohim says nothing about fruit. She confuses the tree of life, explicitly stated to be in the midst of the garden, with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the location of which is not stated (2:9). She adds that the fruit of the tree is not even to be touched. The motif of limitation in the traditions about God possibly leads her to conclude that she best carries out God's commandment by not touching the fruit. In the process of interpreting the traditions her propensity is not to diminish them so that observance is inconsequential but to magnify them so that observance is almost impossible. The unattractiveness of the commandment as reinterpreted by her is no match for the attractiveness of the tree.

The serpent, in response to the woman, continues to reinterpret the two speeches of God concerning food (1:29 and 2:16) by injecting a component of the Elohim speech concerning man's likeness. First, the serpent contradicts YHWH Elohim (2:17) by saying that the woman will not die. Second, the serpent adds a component found neither in

Elohim's nor YHWH Elohim's speech, namely, the opening of the eyes. Third, the serpent explicates what is implicitly stated by Elohim (1:27), namely that man, created in the image of Elohim, is therefore, like Elohim (3:5) and links that likeness to knowing good and evil. Elohim does not link man's likeness to Elohim with knowledge. Elohim links man's likeness to Elohim with blessing and dominion (1:28).

The speeches of the woman and the serpent indicate both a fusing and confusing of the Elohim and YHWH Elohim speeches. The response of the woman and the man to YHWH Elohim's questioning following their eating of the fruit (3:6) indicates misrepresentation whereby they attribute their condition to a cause other than their actions.

The man attributes his condition to the woman and then to YHWH Elohim for having given the woman to him (3:12). In fact YHWH Elohim had not given the woman to man. Having built her from his side, YHWH Elohim brought her to the man for naming, as He had done the living of the field and every fowl. The man does not name her as his counterpart. Instead, he identifies her as like himself ("bone of my bone", 2:23), ignores her resemblance to Elohim (1:27), and calls her "woman". The text then states that they are one flesh (2:24). The man "gives" the woman to himself not YHWH Elohim; he becomes one with her in such a way that he remains "by himself" without a counterpart to be opposite him; he eats the fruit just as she did, without protest.

The woman directly attributes her condition to the serpent and implicitly to YHWH Elohim for having made the serpent, a point expressly noted in the story (3:1). What moves the woman to eat is the tree itself: she sees that it is good for good, a delight to the eyes, and desirable for insight (3:6). However, in answering YHWH Elohim she says that she ate because the serpent beguiled her, whereas the serpent had merely said what was true even without their eating, namely that they were like Elohim (cf., 1:27 and 3:5).

YHWH Elohim nonetheless accepts the woman's misrepresentation which attributes her condition to the serpent. YHWH Elohim says in effect that the serpent will be in a state of cursedness among those beasts over which man was not given dominion (1:28) but over which man assumed dominion (2:20), actually fulfilling Elohim's original saying (1:26), and among the living of the field out of which the serpent was made (3:1). YHWH Elohim does not explicitly curse the serpent. The verb (curse), in the form of a *Qal* passive participle, serves as a noun which denotes a condition brought about by an external agent, which in this case is not stated or which is at the very least ambiguous.[6] The text, strictly speaking, does not support an interpretation which asserts that YHWH Elohim has cursed the serpent; the text rather suggests that YHWH Elohim observes that the serpent is in a condition of cursedness by virtue of its action.

The situation YHWH Elohim describes for the woman is not so much a new condition that results from her eating the fruit but a further explanation of her condition resulting from the man's causing her to be one flesh with him; namely, she is to yearn for him and he is to rule over her (3:16).

YHWH Elohim, however, does not accept the man's misrepresentation which in effect attributes his action to YHWH Elohim for having given him to woman. Saying to the man that the woman is "your" woman, YHWH Elohim recalls the series of events whereby the man made the woman one flesh with himself. As in the case of the serpent's cursedness the text does not support saying that YHWH Elohim has cursed the ground (3:17). The passive participle form of the verb denotes that the ground is in a condition of cursedness which may be the consequence of the man's action, not necessarily YHWH Elohim's punishment.[7] The description of the ground's condition by

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[6] *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) 356.

[7] Ibid.

YHWH Elohim reflects the description of earth under the man's and woman's blessedness at their creation by Elohim (1:28).

In the condition of blessing man and woman do have work to do that corresponds to the work they must do under the condition of cursedness. Their work under blessing is even more difficult than the work under cursedness. They are to be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth, an enormous task; that there is no reference to the woman's labour does not necessarily imply an absence of it. The causative voice of the verb "to multiply" in YHWH Elohim's speech to the woman (3:16) suggests that YHWH Elohim merely causes her to carry out what is directed under the blessing, but which had not yet come to be. YHWH Elohim does not explicitly speak of her as under cursedness. Only by the influence of words spoken to the man and the serpent does the notion that the woman is cursed arise. They are to subdue the earth (1:28) which corresponds to the work the man must do in relation to the cursed ground (3:17). And they are to have dominion over the fish, the fowl and living things that move (1:28).

They have work to do in connection with vegetation and animals. These forms of work are of great magnitude, if not difficulty, but they are stated in the context of blessing. These forms of work more specifically detailed in the context of cursedness are minor if not insignificant in comparison. In regard to the vegetation man is to labour, amidst thorns and thistles, but is still to eat of the herb of the field, (3:18) as stated by Elohim (1:29). In regard to animals man and woman's dominion is explicitly in the form of enmity between woman and the serpent and, in dramatic divergence from their original creation, man's rule over the woman.

YHWH Elohim's speech to the serpent, woman, and man constitutes a repetition of previous speeches or textual statements and is characterized by a divergence in detail consistent with the pattern of divergence established in Genesis 1. The divergence within Elohim's speech about creating man and the actual creating of man results in man's

not having Elohim's likeness, although retaining Elohim's image, and in man's not having dominion over the beasts. The specification that takes place in the actual creation constitutes a scaling down compared to the original speech.

The divergence within YHWH Elohim's speech to the serpent, woman, and man and Elohim's speech in the form of blessing the man and woman is a specification of the woman's dominion in childbirth, and man's labour in the ground. The divergence results from man's action, not from YHWH Elohim's punishment. What YHWH Elohim observes as cursedness is no more difficult and, indeed, is perhaps less difficult to do than under the condition described as blessing.

It may be argued that man, as male and female, in the image of Elohim possesses the knowledge of good and evil; if so, man's being commanded not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil is for sake of preventing man from dying, not for sake of preventing man from acquiring such knowledge. Unlike the tree of life, the tree of knowledge of good and evil is a tree of dying. This argument fits the story in that when the man and woman eat the fruit they do not acquire the knowledge of good and evil; instead they see their nakedness against which they gird themselves with a defensive garment, a "warrior's belt." It would follow from this argument that YHWH Elohim says that man is like one of us knowing good and evil (3:22) not as a consequence of man's and woman's eating but as a restatement and further modification of Elohim's creating man (1:27). It further follows that YHWH Elohim's sending them from the garden lest they eat of the tree of life, which they might do in response to having eaten from the tree of dying, is the injection of a limitation consistent with the pattern already observed (i.e. in 1:26-28 and 2:15-17). YHWH Elohim's action in sending them from the garden is not in response to their eating, but for sake of causing the man to serve the ground (3:23), inasmuch as man, needed for serving the ground (2:5) had not in fact assumed responsibility for causing the ground to sprout (2:9).

The woman has in effect been the central figure in the eating of the tree which causes death. In a manner of speaking she might have been named the mother of death. The man gives her a name based, however, on the view that she is the mother of life. As the man misinterpreted her intended role and caused her to be one with him, so he misinterprets her actual role in introducing death.

That he regards her as the mother of life in anticipation of her role in fulfilling Elohim's saying that they are to multiply and fill the earth (1:28) and YHWH Elohim's saying that she will bear children (3:16) cannot be said to be a correct interpretation of her role because both speeches attribute as much to man as to woman. Furthermore, man's speech in naming the woman ignores both traditions and attributes human life to the activity of Elohim in creating (1:28) or YHWH Elohim in forming (2:7).

YHWH Elohim makes garments of skins for the man and woman in order to correct their previous misinterpretation whereby they were afraid of YHWH Elohim and made for themselves warrior belts. The harshness they attribute to YHWH Elohim is matched in fact by the benevolence He shows them.

If man were to live forever he would have no need to subdue the earth (1:28) or serve the ground (2:5) for sake of food because even without eating or by only eating thorns and thistles he could not die. Yet without his properly tending the earth his life would be miserable even if it were everlasting. Perhaps it would be a life absent of those things desired by the woman (3:6). In driving the man from the garden YHWH Elohim intervenes to prevent man's misinterpreting his having been blessed by Elohim (1:28) and seen by YHWH Elohim as eating from cursed ground (2:17). Both conditions entail labour in relation to which proper resting remains to be established. The tree of life is guarded so that man's solving the problem of the relation between rest and work by eating from it is untenable. The text must carry the story of man into the story of Israel

before the model of Elohim's resting after six days of working is understood to be the solution of that problem.

IV

The enigmatic character of the woman's speech following the birth of Cain (4:1) may be explained as her attempt to reinterpret and appropriate previous speeches of God about childbirth and man's resemblance to God. YHWH Elohim's speech to her after she eats the fruit refers to labour, children, and longing for the man; in contrast her speech refers to begetting, not labour, to a man, not children, and to YHWH, not her longing for man. By attributing Cain's birth to YHWH the woman confirms the man's lead in not naming her his counterpart but contradicts the text's observation that they are one flesh (3:24). She ignores whatever the text has in mind in saying that the man knew her. However, her interpretation takes up elements familiar to her from the earlier speeches of God. That she regards YHWH to be complicit in the birth of Cain, or that she regards Cain as a man associated with YHWH recalls Elohim's speech concerning the creation of man (1:26), the creation itself (1:27), and YHWH Elohim's saying that man has become like one of us (3:22). That the likeness is associated with knowing good and evil may be the connection she makes between YHWH and the man's knowing her.

Cain appropriates the role of serving the ground (4:2) inasmuch as the man had not assumed the role previously (2:7,8). He then interprets that role in a manner consistent with earlier interpretations which add to what was actually said; e.g. the woman's saying not to touch the tree. Cain presents an offering to YHWH from the fruit of the ground, not having been told to do so. Abel follows. Cain then interprets YHWH's gazing at Abel's offering but not gazing at his own offering in a manner that causes his face to fall (4:4,5).

Cain's interpretation arises from the propensity to attribute harshness to God in excess of what God has actually spoken. Cain does not consider the possibility that YHHW gazes at Abel's offering in order to determine if it is acceptable, whereas He does not gaze at Cain's because it is acceptable without further reflection. Cain could have reasoned that Abel's way was no less problematic than his own. Whereas the way associated with vegetation had led to the eating of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the way associated with animals had led the man to appropriate a ruling of the beasts, through naming them, not actually granted by Elohim (comparing 1:28 and 2:19 with 2:20). Abel's offering of the first born of his sheep has its counterpart in man's naming the beasts (2:20) in that they arrogate to themselves a relation to the animals not actually given to them. Cain's response to YHWH's not gazing at his offering is to attribute harshness to Him.

YHWH questions why Cain grew hot and his face fell by means of a speech that concludes with a reference to ruling over sin (4:7). Cain is either unable to interpret the speech or interprets it in the extreme as grounds for slaying Abel. If the latter he converts YHWH's "lifting up" into a "rising up" against Abel (4:8).

Cain's elusive answer to YHWH's question about Abel's whereabouts (4:9) likewise suggests either an inability to interpret the question or a misinterpretation of YHWH's intent. Cain, anticipating punishment, denies knowledge of Abel's whereabouts and responsibility for him. YHWH does not explicitly punish him, but merely points out the conditions of things resulting from his actions.

Cain's response to YHWH's speech after he slays Abel continues in the same interpretive vein. By adding to YHWH's words Cain depicts YHWH to be harsher than is compatible with what YHWH actually says to him. YHWH does not curse Cain. The form of the verb, as in previous instances (3:14,17). denotes a condition brought about by an

external agent, which in this case is not specified.[8] The ground is observed by YHWH to be cursed, just as YHWH Elohim observed the ground to be cursed in relation to the man (3:17). The condition of the ground is such that Cain, defined as a "server of ground", will no longer serve it by farming it; instead, he will be a vagabond and wanderer. Cain alleges that YHWH has driven him from the face of the ground and withdrawn from him so that he will be more than a vagabond, he will be a fugitive to be killed when found (4:14). Cain's misinterpretation is so strong that, despite YHWH's benevolence in placing a protective mark on him, he flees YHWH to dwell in Nod, east of Eden (4:16).

The woman attributes the birth of Cain to YHWH in the immediate context of the man's expulsion from the garden by YHWH Elohim (4:1). She equates this event and the speech by YHWH Elohim concerning labour in childbirth solely with the name YHWH. However, she associates Elohim with the birth of Seth, who replaces the slain Abel (4:25). Her altered understanding of divine benevolence is reflected in the name she chooses to refer to God. Her changed view is at odds with the view which the text reports. With the rise of multiple vengeance heralded in Lamech's speech (4:23,24) the name YHWH is begun to be called. The name is associated with a view of God as harsh. It will be Lamech, the father of Noah, who will actually use the name YHWH, and he will associate that name with a harsh view of God that arises through the process of interpretation.

V

Genesis 1-4 depicts interpretation of traditions about God as an on-going event leading to explicit motifs that are at best implicit in the tradition as first stated. In particular, the emerging interpretations reveal a tendency to attribute to

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[8] Ibid.

God a certain harshness which is not supported by the actual words or actions of God as previously reported. The interpretation need not be judged as correct or incorrect. The emerging view that God is harsh in His dealings with human beings may be a correct account of God. Whatever the case may be, that is a view that comes to be through interpretation. It is a view with a history.

Recognition that the interpretation of God's speeches and actions has a history accounts for the sudden, if not intrusive, statement in Genesis 5:1a that the narrative to follow is a history, a book of generations.

That the book offers a distinct interpretation of God's speeches and actions requires little demonstration. How Genesis 5 goes about that interpretation is important to observe. Genesis 5:1b fuses the language in Genesis 1:26-27 and so obscures the distinction between what Elohim said and what He actually did. According to Genesis 5:1b Elohim made man in His likeness. In 1:26 Elohim speaks of making man in our image and likeness whereas in 1:27 Elohim creates man in His image. The interpretation offered by Genesis 5:1b clears up three questions raised by the information provided in Genesis 1:26-27: did Elohim create or make man? Did Elohim make/create man in "our" image or His image? Did Elohim create/make man in our His image or likeness?

In fusing the two traditions (what Elohim said, what Elohim did) Genesis 5:1 makes a new tradition that resolves the duplicative if not contradictory character of those earlier traditions. In making a new tradition, new information is added. Genesis 5:2b states that He called their name man, whereas neither Elohim nor YHWH Elohim actually name the man. Elohim, of course, names other things in Genesis 1 and YHWH Elohim allows man to name certain things in Genesis 2. It is not unreasonable for an interpretation of traditions about God to infer that He named man. But strictly speaking He did not.

Genesis 5 goes about its interpretation in a transformative manner. It does not merely reproduce what was previously said; it refines, clarifies and explicates what was said. It extends what was previously said into a new context by, for example, drawing from Genesis 1:27 the language about likeness and image and referring it to Seth.

Beginning with Genesis 5:3 it is apparent that the book of history is not merely an interpretation; it is a teaching about how to interpret the past.[9] For Genesis 5 the past is a record of things that are no more; it is a record of death. But at the same time it is a record of births, of beginnings. History is loss and new beginnings, death and birth. History may even be viewed in terms of possible new beginnings, by predictions or hopes for what might come to be, as in Lamech's speech concerning Noah. The record of what has happened focuses on new things that have come to be and may come to be and on the limits of things. Genesis 5 teaches that things have a history that exists between such and such a time. Human beings, in particular, have such limits; their origin and end is not obscure.

Through its quiet teaching about time Genesis 5 offers an important clarification of the word day. Beginning with Genesis 1 the word undergoes development. In Genesis 1 it refers to a thing, namely light, which was created in the sense that Elohim called it to be. Day, according to Genesis 1, is visible. Beginning with 5:4 it is used to refer to years. Day, according to Genesis 5, is not visible. However, although day is not visible in the sense it is in Genesis 1, it is crucial for understanding two periods of time: when an important child is born and when an important figure dies. Day thus recalls two primary statements of Genesis 1 and 2: that man is to be fruitful and that man will die if he eats of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Day recalls birth and death.

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[9] See further, E. Combs and K. Post *The Foundations of Political Order in Genesis and Chandogya Upanisad* (Edwin Mellen, 1987) 224-248.

The process of interpretation culminates in Genesis 5 by an inversion of the accounts of birth and death in Genesis 1-4. In Genesis 1 Elohim is associated with the bringing to be of living things, including male and female. In Genesis 2 YHWH Elohim is associated with forming man and building woman and with wanting to prevent the man's death by commanding him not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil lest he die. In Genesis 3 the man and the woman eat from the tree and are therefore responsible for their eventual deaths, although they each pass along that responsibility. In Genesis 4 the woman attributes the birth of Cain to YHWH and of Seth to Elohim.

Adam names her the mother of all living despite her complicity in eating of the tree for which she would more appropriately be called the mother of death. In naming her Eve, Adam begins an inversion that is complete in Genesis 5. In Genesis 5 Elohim is completely dissociated from the recorded births. The births are attributed solely to men to the exclusion of women. The birth of Cain is omitted because it was attributed to YHWH while the birth of Seth is attributed solely to Adam. Seth is in the image and likeness of Adam, language heretofore associated with Elohim's creating man. Genesis 5:3 speaks of Adam is a way that Genesis 1:26-27 speaks of Elohim.

Associating births with man, not God, Genesis 5 associates death with God, not man. In two similar passages (5:25 and 5:29), which interrupt the refrain found in the other passages, Genesis 5 stops just short of directly attributing death to God. Enoch walked with Elohim and was no more because Elohim took him. Lamech says that YHWH has cursed the ground.

In Genesis 3:14 and 3:17 YHWH Elohim speaks of cursedness in relation to the serpent and the ground respectively. The word cursed in these two instances, as previously noted, is a passive participle of the verb. YHWH Elohim does not impose the curse, strictly speaking; rather, He recognizes and states a condition that has come to be. YHWH Elohim is not explicitly the agent of the cursing.

Likewise in Genesis 4:11 the verb is a passive participle. YHWH does not curse but explains the consequences of Cain's actions, and in particular the consequences of Abel's blood crying from the ground. The form of the verb in 5:29 is the Piel, 3rd masculine singular. Here YHWH is the agent. However, He is the agent by virtue of Lamech's interpretation of the tradition associated with YHWH Elohim in Genesis 3, especially 3:17, and with YHWH in Genesis 4:11. Lamech removes any ambiguity that exists in the verbal form used in these passages. Lamech's teaching that the ground has been cursed by YHWH does not represent the teaching of the text per se. Instead, it reflects a quiet but consistent teaching of the text about the perplexity in understanding and transmitting traditions about God, and especially the human propensity to bias transmission with the view that God is responsible, not man, for those harsh conditions associated with death. Lamech's teaching represents a particular critique of history in the name of a particular view of God.

To conclude. This essay suggests Genesis 1-5 is a coherent narrative which teaches that the interpretation of divine will is carried out within a perplexity biased by a particular view of divine benevolence. This interpretive process culminates in 5:29 where Lamech teaches that YHWH has cursed the ground. Lamech's view depends on a denial of human complicity in the state of things and in particular human responsibility for the ground.

Lamech predicts a future consolation through Noah. Whereas Noah is credited with preserving his family from the flood and receiving a covenant against another flood (9:11), the text remembers that Noah eventually introduces drunkenness (9:21) and slavery (9:25,26). Through drunkenness the pain of working cursed ground is diminished, through slavery the need for working cursed ground is ended. Lamech's teaching anticipates and grounds that order dedicated to overcoming labour through obliviousness and the labour of other human beings.

The interpretive process which transforms the teaching that Elohim blessed man to rule the earth into the teaching that YHWH cursed the ground from which man seeks consolation represents indeed a perplexity of significant proportion.

We too are perplexed by these statements and find some consolation in assigning them to different sources, which we determine, analyze and judge through the bias of historical criticism. Our interpretation leads to distinct, recognizable consequences in human affairs for which we are responsible. One such consequence is the view that a text like Genesis is not trustworthy in its given form. This view turns us away from understanding what Genesis teaches through how it teaches. By turning from how it teaches we finally subject it to what we teach.

As we participate in an interpretive process capable of great distortion so we live in a particular human society capable of greatly distorting its foundations. Insofar as those foundations refer to Genesis we who interpret must be increasingly certain what God said about the tree that is in the midst of the garden.

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PSALM 88 AMONG THE COMPLAINTS

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Commentators on Psalm 88 are usually impressed by the remarkably sombre tone of this psalm and have frequently pointed out that it is one of the most dismal in the Psalter. Indeed, a reader of this psalm is struck by the extended preoccupation with death accompanied by the deep sense of the anger of God and isolation from friends, and all this with little or no mention of rescue from this bleak situation. In this respect it stands out from the other psalms of complaint. Since Psalm 88 does not appear to go as expected, it may prove interesting to place this psalm in the context of the other complaint psalms and try to trace in more precise detail just how this psalm is like and unlike other complaint psalms.

We must begin at the beginning with the psalm itself. Psalm 88 is not a long psalm, only twenty lines in the *BHS* text. As is to be expected with ancient literature, there are some lines which present problems (vv 2, 6, and 16) and a few forms that are difficult. I have nothing new to propose beyond the corrections and improvement which commentators have noted over the years. It will not be necessary for the kind of study which follows to make decisions about the difficult lines and forms in the text beyond recognizing that there are certain problem areas about which one must be circumspect.[1]

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[1] For this reason I have only consulted a limited number of recent studies in addition to Gunkel: Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms* (vol. 2; AB 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968); Michael D. Goulder, *The Psalms of the Sons of Korah* (JSOTSS 20; Sheffield: JSOT, 1982); Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalmen* (BKAT 15/2 2nd ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener,

A rough outline of the psalm, based simply on subject matter or content divisions, might run as follows. The opening line, although it may be garbled, seems to contain two assertions: the Psalmist cries for help and does so more than once (day and night). As the text now stands in v 2a, Yahweh is described as "God of my salvation" and this would, if the text is correct, add a positive note to the dreary picture to come. This is followed by an appeal that the prayer be heard in v 3. After these two opening lines affirming continual prayer and appealing that it be heard, the rest of the psalm is essentially a description of the difficult situation which has called forth the prayer, punctuated by two further reminders (in vv 10 and 14) of the assertion in the opening two lines that a prayer has been uttered.

The problem situation out of which the sufferer of the psalm cries is only stated in general terms, and this is usual in the complaint psalms. The description begins (v 4) with the general claim that the speaker is sated with misfortunes. This is explicated by a portrayal of the fearful proximity to the sphere of death (4b to 6): the speaker "has reached Sheol" (v 4) and "is reckoned with those who go down to the pit" (v 5). The next verses (7-9) continue to describe this unfortunate plight but add an important feature. It is clear who is the cause of it all: "you have set me in the deepest pit" (7); "Your wrath rests upon me" (8); and "you have made my friends far from me." Yahweh is doing it. It is Yahweh who in his anger is overwhelming the victim and it is Yahweh who has isolated him by distancing his friends.

The block of material in vv 11-13 serves in one sense to reinforce the description of the pitiable plight of the one praying in that we encounter further talk of the sphere of the dead, but these three lines are phrased as rhetorical questions. This makes them instruments of persuasion: what benefit is a worshipper once in the realm of the dead? These lines, then, could be read in two ways, on the one hand as

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1961); and J. Trublet and J.-N. Aletti, *Approche poétique et théologique des psaumes* (Initiations; Paris: Cerf, 1983).

further evidence of the dark situation of the speaker or on the other hand as a sign that the Psalmist is more active in the art of persuasion and therefore than one might suspect at first glance. Darkening the picture can be a form of persuasion.

The last of the three affirmations of continued and persistent cry for help (14) is followed by a line containing two questions: "why do you reject me" and "why do you hide your face." Questions of this type occur elsewhere in complaints (for example, 10:1, 22:2, 42:10 and 74:1) but what is striking here is that nothing coming after these questions hints that they might be answered and the psalm closes in vv 17-19 with an assertion phrased in some respects similar to vv 7-9: the anger of Yahweh, how it overwhelms the victim, and how the deity has distanced companion and friend. As in vv 7-9, it is made clear here who is responsible for the trouble: "your bursts of anger have overwhelmed me" (17) and "you have made my friend and companion far from me" (19). It is on this note that the psalm ends.

With so much weight given to the desperate situation, especially when the ending picks up and re-asserts what was said earlier, one is less inclined to give much weight to the few positive signs encountered earlier, such as the possible reference to "God of my salvation" in the opening line and the rhetorical questions of vv 11-13. But the poem is after all a prayer. Why offer such a prayer if there is no hope for an answer or if there is no hope of persuading Yahweh to rescue? On the other hand, why produce a prayer which speaks so little of rescue? We are left a measure of ambiguity.

Be that as it may, when compared to other psalms, a positive note seems to be missing in this psalm that is often found in other psalms which are not reticent to speak about rescue or even to view it as a certainty. The lack of this note in Psalm 88 is so striking in the light of other psalms that

Hermann Gunkel even inclined toward the suggestion made by earlier commentators that the psalm had been truncated.[2]

This brings us to the relationship of Psalm 88 to the other complaints and the need to try to examine the complaints as a whole. Gunkel made a serious attempt to do this, in the sense that his approach to the Psalms focused on types or groups of psalms which shared common features, and so it may be helpful to start with him. In Gunkel's approach, a type (*Gattung*) is defined, to put it very simply, in terms of the presence of common forms and common elements of content which together point to a common setting in community life (*Sitz im Leben*) which could have produced such a psalm. The type which Gunkel identified as the complaint of an individual is, perhaps, the most dramatic example of what Gunkel meant by type.[3]

Gunkel was able to identify and list several elements or common features found frequently in complaint psalms. These appeared to often that he defined the type in terms of these elements, and they are easily recognized. Some of the most prominent are: an invocation (vocative), which can be set in an introductory appeal for hearing; a complaint or description of the problem; an appeal for help (normally imperative) which can also appear as a wish (jussive), appeals and curses against enemies, and wishes for the faithful; motivations for divine intervention and expressions of trust; a statement of certainty of hearing (perfect form of verb); and a vow containing a promise of future action, usually cultic. A complaint of the individual need not contain all of these elements nor is the order in which these elements appear fixed. Elements may also be repeated.

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2 *Die Psalmen* (5th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968) 382.

3 *Einleitung in die Psalmen* completed by J. Begrich (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 173-265. For a recent study of structure in complaints, see Anneli Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer in the Psalms* (BZAW 167; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) 1-118.

Ps 88 shows only a limited number of these elements. It begins with an invocation of the deity followed by an appeal for hearing. The rest of the psalm could be taken as the element which Gunkel called the complaint, or description of the problem. Included in this, as motivations for divine action, would be the rhetorical questions of vv 11-13 and the "why" question of v 15. Since the references to the continued crying out of the Psalmist in vv 10 and 14 are not imperatives, they could be seen as part of the complaint, stating the fact of repeated appeals, rather than act of appeal for hearing itself. It is clear then that only three of the features just mentioned as characteristic of the individual complaint are present.

Ps 88 lacks some of the important elements usually found in complaints of the individual. There is no appeal for help, which Gunkel called the most important element of the individual complaint.[4] This usually takes the form of a specific request to save, heal, or rescue, There are also no expressions of trust, no certainty of hearing, nor a vow. Thus, the use of Gunkel's description of the type of the individual complaint highlights quite readily and in specific terms why readers sense that Psalm 88 stands out from the others, and indeed Gunkel points this out in his commentary.[5] It is true that complaint psalms do not follow a rigid pattern, and Gunkel recognized this. Many psalms do not contain the full range of Gunkel's elements, and in fact each psalm expresses its own individuality through its own selection, arrangement, and expression of the elements. It is the unusual selection that makes Psalm 88 striking when compared to the others.

Gunkel's approach has been useful in identifying the degree to which Psalm 88 shares elements frequently found in complaints. However, it may be possible to go a step beyond Gunkel by moving up to another level of analysis in

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4 *Einleitung*, 218.

5 *Die Psalmen*, 382.

order to investigate more closely the framework or pattern which has produced and holds together these elements which Gunkel identified.

In order to do this we may start with a very basic question and ask what is happening in a complaint psalm. The obvious thing to say is that individual complaints are prayers framed in the first person singular by persons who complain of trouble and are addressed to a deity apparently capable of rescuing them from this trouble. The speakers of these psalms seek to be removed by means of divine intervention out of their situation of distress and restored to a situation free from all those things which beset them. This religious act of appealing to a deity for help could have arisen out of life experience in the sense that individuals are at any time liable to fall into adversity. Difficult situations are a fact of life and in many religious traditions falling victim to adversity issues in prayer for help and deliverance. However, the nature and shape of the prayer stems from the religious tradition itself and the way the world is perceived and reality is patterned, including both divine and human dimensions, by a given tradition. The prayer is framed in terms of how adversity is perceived and understood in a given religious tradition.

In the Hebrew Bible the topic of rescue from difficulty can be found in several places and is noticeably present in narrative and prophetic traditions. I would like to refer very briefly to these traditions as background to discussing rescue in the complaint psalms. In the Hebrew Bible rescue seems to function as a kind of pattern of thought which has contributed to the shape of the religious perspective of Ancient Israel but also a kind of pattern of language which has participated in organizing the articulation in prose and poetry of the particular view of life reflected in the religious perspective. When I speak of a rescue pattern in what follows, I will usually be referring to this pattern at the level of language. Now I realize that I am getting into deep waters here but I hope to be able to explain my use of the notion "rescue pattern" more precisely as the discussion proceeds,

at least sufficiently to justify the limited use which I make of it.

The movement of the rescue pattern from difficult situation to rescue is perhaps most clear in the narrative traditions of the Hebrew Bible. Narrative by its very nature guides the reader or listener through all stages of the movement, from the pain of the difficulty to the joy of the rescue, so that each is experienced as the narrative flows by. Stories about rescue from difficulty may involve an individual or a group, and the rescuer is usually the deity. The Exodus is a remarkable example of an elaborate rescue story. The stories in the book of Judges are also rescue stories. Judges is a particularly interesting example since in Judg 2:11-17 an early collector or commentator even describes the rescue pattern which he has recognized in the stories.[6] He also prefaces the rescue pattern with a punishment pattern, although there are no punishment stories actually present in the narratives. This addition simply means that the difficult situation from which the people need rescue is taken to be the result of divine punishment for their actions. In the Exodus narrative punishment is not added at the beginning so that the problem situation is not explained in this way. In other words, to speak of a rescue pattern is to speak of a pattern worked out in significant variations.

The story of Hezekiah recounted in 2 Kings 20, and with some variations in Isaiah 38, is a rescue story. The king falls gravely ill, and the prophet Isaiah confirms that he will die. He prays to Yahweh. Through Isaiah Yahweh replies that he has seen Hezekiah's tears and hear his prayer so that he is going to add years to his life as well as rescue him from the king of Assyria. In the Isaiah version a thanksgiving psalm is added, being attributed to Hezekiah "when he became sick and recovered from his sickness" (20:9).

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[6] I have discussed this in a paper read at the meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature in Atlanta, November 1986, "Judges: The Pattern and the Stories."

Psalms of thanksgiving of individuals are closely related to individual complaints; they celebrate the rescue, already accomplished, and look back on the trouble from which deliverance has taken place. The presence of the thanksgiving psalm, with its close relationship to the individual complaints, shows that the ancient collector or editor recognized the connection between the psalm tradition which deals with difficulty and rescue and the prose stories of rescue. This is not particularly surprising, since the connection seems obvious to us, but the fact that it was made by an early collector is at least worth noting.

Rescue is also evident in the prophetic traditions, although the topic of punishment seems to dominate in the pre-exilic prophets. In Isaiah the sombre tones of punishment are brightened by passages like chapters 9 and 11 which portray restoration. In the writings of the exilic prophet of Isa 40-55 rescue becomes a major issue of the material. In contrast to narrative, the speaker in prophetic writings stands at a specific point in the pattern, the time of distress, and looks toward its realization in the future. In Isa 40, the prophet, while proclaiming that the time of punishment is over, announces that rescue from the difficult situation is at hand.

In the light of the use of a rescue pattern in the narrative and prophetic traditions, one can suggest that the complaint psalms are also working with a similar kind of rescue pattern. The speakers in the psalms are crying out from a difficult situation calling for rescue, urging intervention, and seeking to persuade the deity to come to their aid. Because the Psalms are prayers for help the poets are located at a particular point in the pattern. They are standing at the point of the experience of difficulty and distress looking ahead to a rescue they assert should or will happen. The speakers assume it is characteristic of the God to whom they pray to deliver, and it is therefore reasonable to expect deliverance. Indeed, the element which Gunkel has called the "certainty of hearing" encountered in some complaint psalms asserts that Yahweh has heard the appeal and that action may soon

be expected (Ps 6:10, for example). In other words the various complaint psalms are ordered and arranged from the perspective of a rescue pattern. As I suggested earlier, they appear to assume a pattern of thought which is part of the general religious perspective of the tradition within which they live. This pattern has been transposed into literary modes like narrative and prophecy as well as complaint psalms where it plays a role in how these poems are organized.

I offer this notion of a rescue pattern in the complaints only as as a suggestion which may be useful in studying Psalm 88 among the complaints. Much more work will need to be done one this issue. For the moment, I am using it tentatively to provide another way of exploring the close relationship that, as Gunkel had noticed, the complaints have with one another. In emphasizing how the complaint psalms work with the same pattern, I do not want to emphasize only what these psalms have in common. It is also important to see how the psalms differ from each other in that they appear to be exploring the various dimensions and possibilities of the rescue pattern, since the simple, general pattern of problem/rescue can be developed and elaborated in several ways.

What happens if we examine Psalm 88 in terms of the other complaint psalms taking the framework of rescue just mentioned as a point of orientation? As we have seen, Psalm 88 consists almost exclusively of the description of the difficult situation, or Gunkel's complaint element. When one surveys the complaint elements of the individual complaint psalms, and I am here including those sections of individual thanksgivings which rehearse complaints made in time of trouble, two things are apparent.

First of all, the descriptions of difficult situations are couched in broad terms. The authors of the Psalms have not sought to articulate the details of specific situations of distress experienced by particular victims of misfortune. Rather, they have chosen to express their descriptions in more general statements which appear designed to get at the

nature and meaning of difficult situations as though all particular cases could be all absorbed into these more general statements. In other words the framework of difficulty/rescue as a general pattern within the religious tradition functioned more specifically as a literary pattern in the articulation of the complaints as a means of defining and interpreting the phenomenon of adversity in human life, which included to some extent the problem of evil.

Secondly, in descriptions of difficult situations in complaint and thanksgiving psalms, a limited number of general difficulties appear to play a role expressed in general categories like enemies, physical deterioration and death, alienation from both deity and friends. These need only to be quickly identified at this point.[7] The first is enemies, and this is so common that examples need not by cited. This category would include a whole spectrum of hostile beings from unspecified evil-doers bent on mischief, to wild animals ready to destroy and devour, to adversaries at the social level, and to erstwhile friends who have betrayed former loyalties. This threat of external danger, of hostility from outside forces, is by far the most frequently cited difficulty among the complaints.

Other problems occur less frequently but are nonetheless significant. There is the presence of physical deterioration, as for example in Psalms 6, 22, 31, 38, and 69. Behind most of this may lie the experience of sickness but the poets make no attempt to describe definite symptoms by which we might recognize particular illnesses. In fact, the descriptions are so vague the condition might in some cases stem from other causes like fear or despair. However it is the issue of physical deterioration as a phenomenon that is important rather than the particular things which might cause it in terms of real life. Closely related to this is the fear of death, usually but not always associated with physical deterioration

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[7] Gunkel offers a full review of this material in his *Einleitung*, 184-211.

and/or the presence of enemies. This may be seen, for example, in Psalms 6, 18, 30, and 69 as well as the various references to the sphere of death in Psalms like 28, Jon 2:3-10 and Isa 38:10-20. Isolation from friends and family also occurs in a few Psalms (31, 38, 69 and possibly 22) which appears to suggests a general isolation from others. The cause of the physical deterioration is sometimes traced to wrongdoing which has in turn occasioned the anger of Yahweh who then afflicts the person concerned and creates the suffering, as in Psalms 6 and 38.

Within this limited range of possibilities (enemies, deterioration and death, and isolation), Psalm 88 focuses on death. It is the proximity to the sphere of death that gains almost exclusive attention in this short poem. There is no mention of enemies so that the imminent danger of death is not attributed to external, hostile forces often described in other psalms. Physical deterioration is not mentioned, even though one could assume that illness accounts for the danger of death. The cause of the difficult situation of the speaker is clearly Yahweh, as I mentioned earlier. It is Yahweh who has set him in the deepest pit (7), whose wrath rest upon him (8a), whose breakers afflict him (8b), whose bursts of anger overwhelm him (17a) and surround him like waters (18a), and who has distanced his friends from him(9, 19). Furthermore, it is not said, as it is in some other Psalms, 6 and 38 for example, that the difficult situation is to be understood as discipline for wrongdoing. What makes this psalm remarkable is the unrelenting concentration on the victim driven to the brink of the realm of death by the fearful onslaught of the anger of Yahweh.

I said that I wanted to place Psalm 88 among the other complaints and I have tried to do this, albeit in a rough and ready way. The psalm belongs in this larger picture. What we have, as I see it, in this larger picture is a cluster of psalms closely related to each other governed a rescue pattern but working it out in many different ways. The rescue pattern and the way in which this has been stated in the various recurring elements of the complaint as identified

by Gunkel provide a measure of stability to the picture. Yet the surprising range of differences within what appears, at least at first glance, to be an almost stereotyped framework offer variation and even innovation. There is, then, both stability as well as variation, and both aspects seem to be important. As a result, Psalm 88, when placed within the context of the other complaints can be considered from two perspectives: how it is pulled towards the others through its similarity with them and how it pulls away from the others by its peculiar selection and variation of complaint elements. I will conclude with a few general comments on the psalm in these two perspectives.

First, the psalm is pulled toward the other complaints. This means that Psalm 88 as a complaint among others is drawn closer to the rescue pattern and the other variations of it provided by other psalms. One could almost say that the gaps apparent in Psalm 88 may be filled by material from the larger framework. That is to say, the sense of what usually happens in complaints prompts readers to fill in what is missing or mentioned only briefly. One individual complaint can evoke the others. For example, if rescue is only referred to minimally in Psalm 88, it very clearly present and assumed in many of the others, like Psalms 6 and 22. Thus, the expectation of the notion of rescue is so strong that the limited mention of it in Psalm 88 is enough to evoke it with something of the importance and power it has in many of the other psalms. Other topics may fill gaps as well. Anger, as noted above, is explained in some psalms as discipline or punishment for sin. This could be evoked or assumed to explain the anger in Psalm 88. What is not explained by the psalm itself can be picked up from some of the others.

As a consequence, the tension between Psalm 88 and the others may be greatly reduced. While Psalm 88 stresses the danger of death and the anger of Yahweh, this may be seen as highlighting certain aspects of the larger picture formed by all the complaints, which includes other important ideas as the external hostility represented by enemies and suffering viewed as discipline. This kind of reading diminishes the

starkness of the psalm somewhat. From this perspective Psalm 88 would then be taken as a sign that the notion of rescue is more complex and difficult than some psalms would indicate. Sometimes sufferers must remain in apparently impossible situations. Rescue remains the final outcome to which the Psalms as a whole point, although how and when this will happen becomes less clear and more problematic. While drawing on the whole picture, it could be said that Psalm 88 still contributes important nuances to the whole in return.

In the second perspective, Psalm 88 may pull away from the other psalms. It is important, as I have just indicated, to recognize the close relationship that the psalms have with each other and allow the force of the rescue pattern which holds them together to provide a context for all the psalms. On the other hand, it may be equally important to try to allow each psalm to distance itself from the others and not be dominated so forcefully by the whole in order to see what each psalm has made of the pattern and the direction in which that leads. This would mean going beyond the notion of nuancing that I have just suggested and moving in the direction of innovation.

Indeed, to stress the anger of Yahweh driving the victim into the sphere of death in Psalm 88 may create a significant tension with other psalms and even the rescue pattern itself. Directing attention to these issues may in effect become a kind of critique of the rescue pattern, or at the very least an opportunity to open up some new possibilities for understanding it. I will just mention two of these possibilities very briefly.

(a) By focusing on the anger of Yahweh as the sole source of the suffering of the victim and not mentioning punishment as the reason for the action of the deity, one may be led to another explanation. This may be what is happening in the song of the Suffering Servant in Isa 52:14-53:12. Here Yahweh afflicts an innocent person but the suffering has some purpose. It will benefit others. Rescue remains a central issue since the victim, although he is not

aware of it, will be the instrument of rescue. However, the framework of suffering as punishment for wrongdoing is still retained because the suffering of the innocent party is taken to be the punishment which should have been laid on others, and there is no hint of this kind of understanding in Psalm 88.

(b) By focusing on the action of the deity as the sole source of the difficult situation with no role left for outside forces, the enemies which evoke the problem of evil, Psalm 88 poses a painful and difficult dilemma: how to account for the rage and destruction demonstrated by the deity, especially since the anger of Yahweh is not explained by the sin of the victim. These are some of the issues the book of Job explored. Of course, the present form of the book retains a happy ending which suggests that the rescue pattern is so deeply embedded in Hebrew tradition that it had in the end to remain in spite of the dilemmas it caused, but at least the nature of suffering and misfortune needs to be understood differently. It remains more of a mystery.

In conclusion, I think we are left with some ambiguity. It may be that Psalm 88 was always understood and read in the context of the other psalms and seen largely as a nuancing of the notion of rescue. But the nature of the psalm does at least provide an opening to more radical speculation. By this I am not arguing that Psalm 88 led to Deutero-Isaiah and Job but only that the particular choice of material invites more innovative perceptions of the tradition of Ancient Israel.

THE *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* IN GEN 1:2c: CREATION OR CHAOS?

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I

Both traditional and modern scholars agree that according to Genesis, creation results when God imposes order upon the unformed, uninhabitable chaos.[1] They also agree that Gen 1:2 contains the description of that chaos. Yet within this consensus there is a long-standing controversy over the extent of the description. At the centre of the debate is Gen 1:2c: *wĕrûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm mĕraḥepet ʿal-pĕnê hammāyim*. The primary question is, is this clause part of the description of chaos or does it refer to the deity?

The text is ambiguous. One might think that the word, *ʾĕlōhîm*, precludes such ambiguity. However, while *ʾĕlōhîm* is the normal Hebrew word for "god," numerous studies suggest that it can also function as a superlative, meaning "big," "great," "tempestuous," or the like.[2] In this case the

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1 Where traditional and modern critics differ is on their understanding of the ontological status of the chaos. Pre-modern Jewish and Christian exegesis contends that God created chaos, and then fashioned the created world from it. Most moderns, on the other hand, argue that chaos is uncreated and exists independent of God. Exceptions to this view include J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel, with a reprint of the article Israel from the Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1973) 298; A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis: The Story of Creation* (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1951) 89-96; Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* , 67-68; and W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967) 2. 101-106.

2 On the use of divine epithets as superlatives see Smith, "The Use of the Divine as Superlatives," 212-213; R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1967) 19. Williams claims

clause would describe a big or violent storm that swept across the primeval waters *prior* to creation.[3] The difference between these two interpretations could not be further apart. The one maintains that the part-verse refers to the creator of

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that this usage also occurs in Ugaritic, citing *UTB* 51.i.39 [=KTU 1.4 I 38] as an example. In an examination of eight passages cited in support of this usage—Gen 23:6; 30:8, Exod 9:28, 1 Sam 14:15, Jon 3:3, Pss 36:7, 80:11 and Job 1:16—D. Winton Thomas, "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT* 30 (1953) 209-224, concludes, "In the O.T. it is, I believe, difficult, if not impossible, to point to any unambiguous example of the use of the divine name as an intensifying epithet and nothing more" (218).

[3] The shift in meaning is understood as analogous to "titanic."

the universe;[4] the other, that it refers to the substance out of

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[4] Supporting this view are A Dillmann, *Genesis* (2 vols.;Trans. W. B. Stevenson; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1897) I. 59. S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis* (4th ed.; WC; London: Methuen, 1905), 4; H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (3d ed; HKAT I/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), 104; J. B. Peters, "The Wind of God," *JBL* 30 (1911) 44-54 and 33 (1914) 81-86; O. Procksch, *Die Genesis* (KAT I; Leipzig: A. Deichertsche, 1913), 426; L. Waterman, "Cosmogonic Affinities in Genesis 1:2," *AJSL* 43 (1927) 177-184; J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (2d. ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930), 18; W. H. McClellan, "The Meaning of Ruah Elohim in Genesis 1, 2," *Bib* 15 (1934) 517-527; S. Moscati, "The Wind in Biblical and Phoenician Cosmogony," *JBL* 66 (1947) 305-10; H. M. Orlinsky, "The Plain Meaning of *RUAH* in Gen. 1.2," *JQR* 48 (1957/58) 174-182, "The New Jewish Version of the Torah: Toward a New Philosophy of Bible Translation," *JBL* 82 (1963) 254-257; N. H. Ridderbos, "Genesis i 1 und 2," *Studies on the Book of Genesis* (OTS 12; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), 241-246; B. S. Childs, "*Myth and Reality in the Old Testament* (SBT 27; London: SCM, 1960), 33-36; U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis: Part One: From Adam to Noah* (Trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1961, 1978), 24; I. Blythin, "A Note on Genesis I 2," *VT* 12 (1962) 120-121; D. Lys, "*Rûach*" *Le Souffle dans l'Ancien Testament* (EHPR 56; Paris: Universitaires de France, 1962) 176-183; R. Davidson, *Genesis 1-11* (CBC; Cambridge at the University Press, 1973), 16; M. Görg, "Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zur Rede vom 'Geist Gottes'," *WW* 43 (1980) 129-148; R. Luyster, "Wind and Water: Cosmogonic Symbolism in the Old Testament," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 1-10; J.-L. Ska, "Séparation des eaux et de la terre ferme dans le récit sacerdotal," *NRT* 103 (1981) 528-30; O. H. Steck, *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Priesterschrift. Studien zur literarkritischen und überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Problematik von Genesis 1,1-2,4a* (2d ed.; FRLANT 115; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981).

which Elohim creates the universe.[5]

A synoptic reading of those who support the latter reading reveals four textual elements in its favour. The first is the grammar of the clause, which begins with a nominal construction. If the clause meant to describe something over and against the content of v 2a-b, Galling argues, it would have begun with a *waw*-consecutive and read something like, *wattĕraḥēph rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm*....[6] The synonymity between v 2c and that which precedes it is enhanced by the parallelism between it and v 2b. Since *ʿal-pĕnê hammāyim* is syntactically and semantically equivalent to *ʿal-pĕnê tĕhôm, wĕrûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm*, Smith argues, *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* should be interpreted as the equivalent of *wĕḥōšek*, an indisputable reference to chaos.[7]

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5 Supporting this view are J. M. Powis Smith, "The Syntax and Meaning of Genesis 1:1-3," *AJSL* 44 (1927/28) 108-115, and "The Use of the Divine as Superlatives," *AJSL* 45 (1928/29) 212-213; E. Arbez and J. Weisengoff, "Exegetical Notes on Genesis 1:1-2," *CBQ* 10 (1948) 147-150; K. Galling, "Der Charakter der Chaosschilderung in Gen. 1,2," *ZTK* 47 (1950) 151-155; O. Eissfeldt, "Das Chaos in der biblischen und in der phönizischen Kosmogonie," *Kliene Schriften* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1963) 2.258-262; G. von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (Trans. J. H. Marks; OTL; London: SCM, 1961), 47-48; R. Kilian, "Gen I 2 und die Urgötter von Hermopolis," *VT* 16 (1966) 420-438; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*. (Trans. J. A. Baker; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967), 2.105; L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World: A Philological and Literary Study* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970) 14-15. W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift: Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Genesis 1, 1-2, 4a und 2, 4b-3,24* (WMANT 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukerchener, 1973), 81-84; B. Vawter, *On Genesis: A New Reading*. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), 40-41; J. Smith, "A Semotactical Approach to the Meaning of the Term *rûah elohîm* in Genesis 1:2," *JNSL* 8 (1980) 99-104; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11: A Commentary* (Trans. J. J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 106-8.

6 Galling, "Der Charakter der Chaosschilderung in Gen. 1, 2," 152. Cf. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*, 34.

7 Smith, "A Semotactical Approach to the Meaning of the Term *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* in Genesis 1:2," 104. Ridderbos's suggestion that the parallelism of vv 2b and 2c is antithetical seems unlikely.

Complementing these two points are two more. Rather than indicating the links between v 2c and v 2b, however, these points suggest that v 2c does not belong with the account of creation. The structure of Gen 1 suggests that Elohim does not begin the process of creation until the creation of light in v 3. Since v 2c structurally precedes v 3, it cannot be part of the description of creation. Finally, there is no mention of the *rûaḥ* in v 3ff, again suggesting that it has nothing to do with creation.

Not all the evidence, however, points in this direction. Those who feel that 1:2c refers to the deity point to the fact that of the 35 times that the word *ʾĕlōhîm* appears in the creation story (Gen 1:1-2:3), 34 unquestionably refer to the deity. It seems unlikely to these scholars that its occurrence in this clause would have a different meaning, especially since Hebrew has so many unambiguous ways of describing a big or violent storm.[8] Furthermore, in the Hebrew Bible when *rûaḥ* occurs in the genitive construction with *ʾĕlōhîm* (or *yhwh*) it always refers to some activity or aspect of the deity.[9]

In an effort to tip the balance of evidence and resolve the issue critics have referred to other ancient near eastern cosmogonies in which a windy force plays a role. These, however, have clarified little. In these accounts the wind is both one of the precreated elements as well as a divine being that contributes to the establishment of the cosmos.

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8 Esp. Moscati, "The Wind in Biblical and Phoenician Cosmogony," 307; Davidson, *Genesis 1-11*, 16; J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 35; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985), 53.

9 Esp. Luyster, "Wind and Water." See also Th. C. Vriezen, "Ruach Yahweh (Elohim) in the Old Testament," *Biblical Essays* . Proceedings of the Ninth Meeting of the OTWSA, 26th-29th July 1966; D. Lys, *Rûach* , 176-185, 337-348. Westermann, and Schmidt, however, counter that the Old Testament contains no real parallels to the way Gen 1:2c employs *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* (cf. B. S. Childs 34-5).

Depending on which aspect one stresses, these accounts can support both positions. In Enuma Elish, for example, the wind is one of the tools that Marduk uses to defeat Tiamat. Since it is a precreated element, J. M. P. Smith argues that the Babylonian cosmogony supports the view that Gen 1:2c is part of the description of chaos.[10] On the other hand, focussing on the fact that the wind is used by the creator deity, S. Moscati and others argue that it supports reading Gen 1:2c as a reference to the creative activity of the deity.[11]

A similar situation exists in the Egyptian cosmogony. Referring to the fact that the wind is one of the precreated elements, R. Kilian argues that the Egyptian account is evidence that Gen 1:2c is part of the description of chaos.[12] Noting the divine identity of the wind (later to be identified with Amun), M. Görg enlists the Egyptian account in support of the view that Gen 1:2c is a reference to Elohim.[13]

The evidence, so it would seem, is ambiguous.[14] O. Kaiser's remarks indicate the current situation: "Man kann schwanken, ob die *rûªḥ* Gottes hier wie Jes 40 7 den von Gott geschickten Wind, vielleicht auch einfach den

10 "The Syntax and Meaning of Genesis 1:1-3," 111.

11 "The Wind in Biblical and Phoenician Cosmogony," 309-310. See also L. Waterman, "Cosmogonic Affinities in Genesis 1:2," pp.179-82.

12 "Gen I 2 und die Urgötter von Hermopolis." His view is accepted by Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* , 108.

13 "Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zur Rede vom 'Geist Gottes'." For an earlier presentation of this argument see A. H. Sayce, "The Egyptian Background of Genesis 1," *Studies Presented to F. LL. Griffith* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1932), 421.

14 According to J. K. Hoffmeier ("Some Thoughts on Genesis 1 & 2 and Egyptian Cosmology," *JANES* 15 [1983] 44) the Egyptian account only has a bearing on the meaning of *rûaḥ* ("wind" not "spirit"). On the issues as they pertain to the phoenician versions see O. Eissfeldt, "Das Chaos in der biblischen und der phönizischen Kosmogonie," and, B. Otzen, "The Use of Myth in Genesis," *Myths In The Old Testament* (eds. B. Otzen, H. Gottlieb, K. Jeppesen; London: SCM, 1980) 35-6.

gewaltigen Sturm bezeichnet, wobei mit POWIS SMITH *elōhîm* einfach Ausdruck des Superlativs wäre...."[15]

II

From time to time the discussion has turned to Gen 8:1 and Exod 14:21. Although no one has based an argument upon these verses, a number of critics feel they support reading Gen 1:2c as a reference to the deity. This conclusion is based on the fact that in both verses god sends a *rûaḥ* against some body of water.[16] In 8:1 Elohim sends a *rûaḥ* over the flood-waters, while in Exod 14:21 Yahweh sends a *rûaḥ* to split the Red Sea. Since the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* of 1:2c

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15 *Die Mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (BZAW 78; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1962), 116. Several other scholars seem uncertain about the alternatives. W. F. Albright ("Contributions to Biblical Archaeology and Philology," *JBL* 43 [1924] 368) feels that in its present context the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* refers to a divine force, but that the verse originally only referred to the wind: "The most probable view seems to be that *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* means 'spirit of God,' but is substituted for an original *rûᵃh*, 'wind,' in order to bring the personality of God into the cosmogony from the beginning." E. A. Speiser (*Genesis* [AB 1; Garden City: Doubleday, 1964], 5) translates the expression as "an awesome wind." In his notes to the translation he adds, "The appended *elohim* can be either possessive ('of/from God'), or adjectival ('divine, supernatural, awesome'; but not simply 'mighty')." Placing "awesome" in the same semantic category as "divine" and "supernatural" would seem to suggest that Speiser interprets the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* as a divine force over and against the waters of chaos. However, there is nothing in "awesome" itself that demands a supernatural connotation, and Speiser's evasion of a less ambiguous term suggests he was not certain on this point.

16 B. Otzen, "The Use of Myth in Genesis," in B. Otzen, H. Gottlieb and K. Jeppesen, *Myths in the Old Testament* (Trans. F. Cryer; London: SCM, 1980) 35, for example, states: "There is also an implied connection . . . with the flood in Gen. 8.1, 'God made a wind blow over the earth, and the waters subsided...' and there is also a link with the account of the crossing of the Red Sea in Ex. 14.21."

also acts against a body of water, these critics conclude that 1:2c is also best understood as a reference to the deity.[17]

Not all, however, agree that these verses constitute parallels. In his discussion of Gen 8:1, for example, B. Vawter writes: "That he *made a wind sweep over the earth* [Vawter's emphasis] may tempt us to recall the 'mighty wind' of Genesis 1:2 (P) that swept over the waters prior to the first act of creation; but the sense is really different...."[18] For Westermann the use of the verb *rḥp* to describe the action of the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* indicates that Gen 1:2c is unique.[19] The uncertainty surrounding the issue can be illustrated by B. W. Anderson, who has supported both positions simultaneously! In one article he argues that Gen 8:1 recalls the "God-sent" wind of Gen 1:2c.[20] Yet in another he maintains that Gen 1:2c is part of the description of chaos, implying, of course, that Gen 8:1 and 1:2c are not parallels.[21]

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17 "Séparation des eaux et de la terre ferme dans le récit sacerdotal," 528-530. Also B. Jacob, *Das erste Buch der Tora: Genesis* (Berlin: Schocken, 1934), 28-9, Orlinsky.

18 Unfortunately Vawter does not explain the difference he detects.

19 *Genesis 1-11* , 107. Schmidt also stresses the unique aspect of Gen 1:2c: "Da das Alte Testament zu der weltschöpferischen Tätigkeit der jwr keine wirkliche Parallele kennt, steht der Vers in seiner Eigenart einzig da."

20 "From Analysis to Synthesis: The Interpretation of Genesis 1-11," *JBL* 97 (1978) 36.

21 "A Stylistic Study of the Priestly Creation Story," *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology* (Ed. G. W. Coats and B. O. Long; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977) 155. In this essay Anderson compares the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* of Gen 1:2c with the "wind of Yahweh" mentioned in Isa.40:7: "the hot wind from the desert which is likewise not creative but signalizes death and chaos" (155-156, n. 21). Cf. Luyster's remarks on the same verse. According to him, the wind of Isa 40:7 is not a power of chaos, but "the most potent manifestation of Yahweh's divine presence" (p. 4). "It is through the wind," Luyster continues, "that Yahweh's judgment falls upon man" (5).

The question this discussion raises is what have Gen 8:1 and Exod 14:21 to do with Gen 1:2c? Are they parallels with Gen 1:2c as Ska, Orlinsky and others have suggested, or are the similarities unsubstantial, as maintained, for example, by Vawter and Westermann? What has not been established is the basis of the comparison. In order to determine the precise nature of the relationship between these three occurrences of *rûaḥ* the role each plays in its own literary context must be explored.

The importance of these two verses for Gen 1:2c lies in the fact that they indicate that *rûaḥ* is part of the terminology of cosmogony, and, more specifically, that it announces the creative activity of the deity. They accomplish this identity not simply because, like Gen 1:2c, there is a *rûaḥ* acting in relation to a body of water, but because that action is described in cosmogonic terms, and according to a pattern normally found in cosmogonies.

In Gen 1, for example, creation consists of a series of divisions imposed upon an undifferentiated watery mass or chaos.[22] This sequence includes the division of the waters, the appearance of land, and the introduction of life. In both the flood and exodus the arrival of the *rûaḥ* introduces a sequence of events that conforms to this pattern. In the flood the *rûaḥ* leads to the closing of "the gates of the heavens and the wells of the deep." Upon their closure the earth appears, which permits those in the Ark to disembark and populate the earth. In the exodus the *rûaḥ* splits the Red Sea and exposes the land of the sea bottom, thereby permitting Israel to escape the oncoming Egyptian army.

In both episodes, moreover, each stage of the pattern is described with terminology derived from the language of cosmogony. To separate the waters of the flood, Elohim

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22 For a recent description of biblical cosmogony see T. Frymer-Kensky, "Biblical Cosmogony," *Background for the Bible* (Ed. M. O'Connor and D. N. Freedman; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987) 231-40.

closes "the gates of the heavens and the wells of the deep (*tĕhôm*)." The cosmological association of these terms is uncontested. The "heavens" are called into being on the second day of creation, while *tĕhôm* is the common Hebrew word for the primeval waters of chaos, and is the term used in Gen 1:2b. The phrasing of this particular clause refers specifically to the separation of the primeval waters by the heavens on the second day of creation. When Elohim opens the gates and wells at the commencement of the flood, he allows the once-separated waters to reunite. When he closes the gates and wells, then, he reestablishes the division he had originally instituted at the time of creation.

In the exodus the splitting of the waters is described by the verb **bqʿ*. While this verb does not figure in Gen 1, it appears in other passages that describe Yahweh's control over the waters of chaos (e.g. Isa 63:12, Job 26:8).[23] Moreover, some very interesting recent work suggest that *yam sûp* may be one of the names for the primeval waters.[24]

The land that appears in both the flood and the exodus is referred to by the term *yābšâ/yĕbōšet* (Gen 8:7, 14; Exod 14:16), the same term that describes the land that appears after the waters under the heavens have been gathered into one place at the time of creation (*yabbāšâ*; Gen 1:10).

Due to the specific subject matter of each episode, the life that these separations permit is different in each case. In the flood story Noah and the animals in the Ark benefit. Once the waters have been pulled back off the land they are once again able to inhabit the earth. In the exodus the beneficiary is Israel. Here the division in the waters and the resulting

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23 Significantly, Gen 7:11 uses this word to describe the opening of the wells of the deep.

24 See N. Snaith, "ים-סוף: The Sea of Reeds: The Red Sea," *VT* 15 (1965) 395-8; B. F. Batto, "The Reed Sea: Requiescat in Pace," *JBL* 102 (1983) 31-4; G. Ahlström, *Who Were the Israelites?* (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986) 49.

exposure of the sea bottom enables them to escape the oncoming Egyptian army.

Still, both situations employ cosmogonic terminology. In the case of the flood this is most obvious. The language used to enumerate and categorise the animals is identical to that used to describe their creation in Gen 1 (compare Gen 1:21, 24 with 8:17). Moreover, once the Ark's inhabitants have returned to the earth, Elohim repeats the blessing he had bestowed upon them at the time of creation (compare Gen 8:17 and 9:1 with 1:22, 28).

At first glance Israel's crossing of the Red Sea might not appear to recall anything cosmogonic. However, the text describes the people's foray into the sea as going "in the midst of the waters" (*bĕtôk hayyām*). This is the same expression used to describe the placement of the heavens in the midst of the primeval seas in Gen 1:6.

Each episode, then, is a type of creation story. The flood, in fact, records the undoing and reestablishment of creation.[25] When Elohim opens the gates and wells he initiates a sequence of events that reverses the process that lead to creation. If in Gen 1 Elohim establishes the heavens, seas, and earth—the discrete spatial realms needed for the support of life—in the inundation of the flood he obliterates these regions. When Gen 7:19 proclaims that "the waters prevailed exceedingly on the earth," it is describing a planet that has been returned to its precreated state. Only Noah and those in the Ark escape the destruction and retain just enough of the original created order to restore it after the abatement.

The cosmogonic language functions differently in the exodus. Rather than telling of the undoing and reestablishment of creation, it uses the language to say

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25 See especially D. J. A. Clines, *The Theme of the Pentateuch* (JSOTS 10; Sheffield: JSOT, 1978), 73-6, and S. Niditch, *Chaos to Cosmos: Studies in Biblical Patterns of Creation* (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1985), 22-4.

something about the origins of Israel. It indicates that Israel's true beginnings lie not with the patriarchs, the conquest of Canaan, or the emergence of the monarchy—all plausible candidates—but with the exodus from Egypt. Yet this language also indicates that the truth of Israel's origins transcend the historical. By identifying the act of liberation with the act of creation the text locates Israel's beginnings in the primordial. Israel is the microcosmic parallel to the universe, and exists by the same power and authority that it does.

While many critics have noted that both episodes are controlled by the structures of cosmogony, little has been said about the role of the *rûaḥ* in this scenario. Yet in both cases it is the *rûaḥ* that leads to the division within the bodies of water, and consequently, the appearance of dry land. In other words, the *rûaḥ* announces and commences the creative activity of the deity.

The place of the *rûaḥ* in the structure of the episodes' action suggests the same conclusion. In the Deluge the *rûaḥ* announces the turning point of the flood. Until its appearance the narrative describes the every growing control of the waters over the earth. Upon the appearance of the *rûaḥ*, however, the narrative direction reverses itself, and begins the account of the abatement. Similarly, in the exodus the appearance of the *rûaḥ* marks the story's climax. Until its arrival Israel appeared trapped between the sea and the oncoming Egyptian army, destined to return to slavery. With the arrival of the *rûaḥ* Israel once and for all escapes Egypt and the slavery it represents. In other words, in both narratives the coming of the *rûaḥ* marks the shift from typological chaos to typological creation.

Thus the parallels between Gen 8:1, Exod 14:21 and Gen 1:2c are more substantial than earlier suspected. The reason why the *rûaḥ* in all three instances acts against the waters is because all three instances are informed by the cosmogonic process. Indeed, since Gen 1 is the archetype of

which the flood and exodus are types, the appearance of a *rûaḥ* in both these episodes would lead one to expect the *rûaḥ* to appear in a similar role in Gen 1.

This analysis, then, favours those who see Gen 1:2c as a reference to the deity. Since the arrival of the *rûaḥ* in the flood and exodus stories announces the impending creative activity of the deity, and since these stories are structurally parallel with Gen 1, the *rûaḥ 'ĕlōhîm* of Gen 1:2c must also be a reference to the creative activity of the deity.

As noted above, there are two groups of reasons why critics objected to this view. First, these scholars recognised that v 2c belonged grammatically and structurally with the rest of v 2. Since this verse contains the description of chaos, they reasoned, v 2c must also be a part of that description. Second, and complimentary of the first, Elohim did not begin the actual process of creation until v 3. Thus, by preceding the account of creation it must speak of a time prior to creation.

While these observations are correct, the wrong conclusions have been drawn. The fact that Gen 1:2 describes the state of things prior to creation does not mean that it cannot refer to the deity. The precreated world may have been unordered, but, according to Gen 1:2c, Elohim was present in it in a state of readiness to create.[26]

Neither is the fact that the *rûaḥ* plays no role in the account of creation a problem, especially in the light of Gen 8:1 and Exod 14:21. In neither the flood story nor the account of the crossing of the Red Sea does the *rûaḥ* appear other than in these two verses. In all three examples the appearance of the *rûaḥ* is annunciatory. Once that task has been accomplished, it disappears from the scene.

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[26] The parallelism between v 2b and v 2c indicates simultaneity not synonymity. Over the waters of chaos lies both the primeval darkness and the *rûaḥ 'ĕlōhîm* (cf. Ps 18:12). See further I. Blythin, "A Note on Genesis I 2," *VT* 12 (1962) 120-1.

III

One issue remains. Even while agreeing that the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* refers to the deity, two different interpretations have been proposed. One group of exegetes argues that the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* refers to a life-giving force that underpins all of creation.[27] Traditionally this group has translated the expression as "spirit of God." A second group of interpreters maintains that the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* is a wind sent by God. Although the deity may be responsible for the wind, the text is describing what is essentially a meteorological phenomenon. In this view the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* is by no means a life-principle, or the force that maintains the cosmos.[28]

At first glance Gen 8:1 and Exod 14:21 would appear to resolve this issue in favour of those who argue the latter position. In both Gen 8:1 and Exod 14:21 the *rûaḥ* is clearly a wind sent by God. Indeed, Orlinsky and Jacob have referred to these verses in support of this reading, although without invoking the cosmic aspects described above. Yet it is precisely the cosmic dimension of the *rûaḥ* in these two verses that suggests that something more than the simple movement of air is implied. Ordinary winds of the magnitude suggested in Gen 1:2; 8:1 and Exod 14:21 could only be destructive in nature. Yet in all three cases these winds are creative.

The difficulty with the naturalistic interpretation can be illustrated by the difficulty scholars have with the order of events in Gen 8:1b-2. Skinner, for example, writes: "The

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27 This group includes such notables as Skinner (*Genesis*, 17-18), Cassuto (*Commentary on Genesis I*, 24-25), Driver (*Genesis*, 4-5), and Dillmann (*Genesis*, 58-59). Christianity has traditionally equated this spirit with the third person of the Trinity.

28 Supporters of this view include Orlinsky ("Plain Meaning," *passim*, and "New Jewish Version," 252-7), B. Jacob (*Genesis*, 28-9), and M. R. Westall, "The Scope of the Term 'Spirit of God' in the Old Testament," *IndJT* 26 (1977) 29-43.

mention of the wind ought certainly to follow the arrest of the cause of the Deluge (2a)" (1930:165). He feels the text is out of sorts because he believes the function of the wind is to evaporate the water from the earth, which requires that the rains be stopped first. Critics have offered a number of text-historical hypotheses in an effort to explain this (mis-) order,[29] yet they are unnecessary if the cosmic role of the *rûaḥ* is kept in mind. If the *rûaḥ* is seen as announcing the impending creative activity of the deity, as argued above, and not simply a wind that evaporates a body of water, the difficulty is avoided.

A better interpretation of the *rûaḥ* in these verses is provided by a comparison with Exod 15:8, 10: "A blast of your nostrils the waters piled up, the floods stood up in a heap; the deeps congealed in the heart of the sea....You blew with your wind (*rûaḥ*), the sea covered them; they sank as lead in the mighty waters." This poetic parallel to Exod 14 retains the cosmogonic dimension of both the crossing of the Red Sea, and of the role of the *rûaḥ* in that account. It shows, however, that this gust is no mere wind. It is the breath of God, and it is by this breath that he controls the waters that oppose his order.[30]

Orlinsky's rigorous distinction between the spirit of God and a wind sent by God does not reflect the biblical categories. Certainly the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* is not the third person

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29 Skinner (*Genesis*, 155) feels that the order of the verses has been inverted, while Westermann (*Genesis 1-11*, 442) argues that the verses contain a conflation of once independent traditions.

30 According to Luyster ("Wind and Water," *passim*, but esp. 2, 8) the Old Testament invariably refers to the *rûaḥ* when it wants to express Yahweh's control over the primeval waters: "Yahweh's ability to contain and dominate the cosmic waters, the forces of chaos, is the absolute prerequisite and surest sign of his divine kingship. Normally, furthermore, his authority is expressed through the presence of his *rûʾaḥ*, variously expressed as his breath, voice, or (as in the cases of Noah and Gen 1₂) wind."

of the Christian Trinity. But neither is it a wind in the meteorological sense.

Orlinsky and Jacob object to what they call the "spiritist" reading because they argue that it posits an intermediary force that creates on behalf of god. This, however, is certainly not the meaning of Gen 1:2c, but neither is this interpretation demanded by the "spiritist" interpretation. In the view expounded above the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* is a hypostasis for *ʾĕlōhîm*, the one used when the text wants to stress the impending creative activity of the deity, and his ability to control the primeval waters. As Vriezen writes, "So the *ruach ʾelohim* of Gen 1:2c does not figure independently; it is an *extensio* of Yahweh, not a creature ...."[31]

In conclusion, the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* of Gen 1:2c refers to the impending creative activity of the deity. It is neither part of the description of chaos, nor does it refer to a wind sent by Elohim, if by wind is meant the meteorological phenomenon of moving air. It expresses Elohim's control over the cosmos and his ability to impose his will upon it. As part of v 2 it is part of the description of the way things were before Elohim executes any specific act of creation.

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31 "Ruach Yahweh," 56.

INSTITUTIONAL MODEL AND POETIC CREATION; THE FIRST SONG OF THE SERVANT OF THE LORD AND APPOINTMENT CEREMONIES

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Current Opinion

Many students of Second Isaiah, especially in the second half of our century, have described the so-called First Song of the Servant of the Lord as an appointment speech. According to these scholars, the biblical poet deliberately portrayed the God of Israel as a king introducing a new minister to the court and investing him with a special task. Among recent exponents of this view, one finds Zimmerli, Kaiser, Westermann, Elliger, Jeremias, Baltzer, Whybray, Melugin, Dijkstra, Mettinger and Steck.[1]

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1 W. Zimmerli, *pais theou*, in *TWNT* V (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1954) 667; O. Kaiser, *Der königliche Knecht.* (FRLANT 70; Göttingen, 1958) 15-18; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66, A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster,1969) 92-95; K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja* (BKAT XI/3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971), 198 ff., esp. 200; J. Jeremias, "Mishpat im ersten Gottesknechtslied," *VT* 22 (1972) 33-34; K. Baltzer, *Die Biographie der Propheten* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975) 171-174; R.N,. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1975) 71; R.F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55* (BZAW 141; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1976) 65-67. M. Dijkstra, "De Koninklijke Knecht. Voorstelling en investituur van de Knecht des Heren in Jesaja 412," *De Knecht: Studies rondom Deutero-Jesaja door collega's en oud-leerlingen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. J.L. Koole* (Kampen: Kok, 1978) 41-52 (the most detailed study on our topic); T.N.D. Mettinger, *A Farewell to the Servant Songs: A Critical Examination of an Exegetical Axiom* (Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, 1982-1983, 3; Lund: Gleerup, 1983) 31. O.H. Steck, "Aspekte des Gottesknechts in Deuterojesajas 'Ebed-Jahwe-Liedern'," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 372-375. Elliger mentions several

These scholars disagree on important points, such as the unity or composite character of Isa 42:1-9, its original or secondary link to a wider context, the royal or the prophetic mission imparted to the Servant, the earthly or the heavenly nature of the assembly presupposed in vv.1-4. But they all construe the first Servant Song as an appointment speech.

Methodological Principles

No scholar can undertake to assign any text to a specific genre except on the basis of a quite precise concept of this *Gattung* and such a notion, in turn, can only be evinced from the examination of a large collection of secure examples. Parallels may be drawn directly from the ancient writer's own culture, or from cultures likely to have influenced it or to have retained valid reflections of it. The purpose of the present article is to apply these methodological principles more thoroughly than has been done so far in testing the current literary classification of the first "Song of the Servant of the Lord."

Of course various text-critical and philological decisions have to be made before any attempt to compare Isa 42:1-9 to ancient Near Eastern appointment scenes. These operations cannot be discussed at length here without throwing this short essay out of focus, but their results are embodied in Chart 1. On the other hand, we will devote a brief study to the question of the exact boundaries of our pericope, a problem whose solution is more immediately relevant to the form-critical inquiry.

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predecessors, such as Volz, Lindblom, North, and Fohrer.

Chart 1

Isaiah 42:1-9: A Structured Translation

1	1a	Behold my servant, whom I uphold,
2		my chosen, in whom my soul delights;
3	1b	I have put my spirit upon him,
4		he will bring forth judgment to the nations.
5	2a	He will not cry out and he will not lift up his voice
6	2b	& he will not make his voice heard in the street;
7	3a	a crushed reed he will not break,
8		& a flickering wick he will not quench it;
9	3b	He will faithfully bring forth judgment,
10a	4a	he will not flicker, he will not be crushed,[2]
11		till he has established judgment on the earth,
12	4b	and the coastlands wait for his teaching.
13	5a	Thus says God, YHWH,
14		who created the heavens and stretched them out,
15		who spread forth the earth and what issues from it,
16	5b	who gives bread to the people upon it
		and spirit to those who walk in it:
18	6a	I, Yahweh,
19		I have called you in righteousness,
20		I have taken you by the hand
21	6b	I have formed[3] you and I have appointed you

[2] To bring out the apparently intentional correlation with a verb used in v 3a, I follow the punctuation implied by LXX against MT.

[3] With Theod. and Tg. I derive the Hebrew verb, not from the root "to keep," but from the root meaning "to fashion," often found in contexts

22		as a covenant to the people, as a light to the nations,
23	7a	to open the eyes that are blind,
24	7b	to bring out the captives from the dungeon,
25		those who sit in darkness from the prison.
26	8a	I am Yahweh,
27		that is my name;
28	8b	and my glory I will not give to anyone else,
29		nor my honour to idols.
30	9a	The former things — behold, they have come to pass.
31		and the new things — I announce them,
32	9b	before they spring forth, I tell you.

Delimiting the Pericope

Isa 42:1-9 provides a safe enough point of departure. The Masoretic tradition and 1QIsa[a] separate these verses from what precedes. Right at the beginning, a new character is solemnly introduced, and especially in vv 3a, 4a new terms make their appearance in the vocabulary of Second Isaiah. True, blanks left by the Qumran scribe and by the Masoretes indicate a further division after v.4, and even on other grounds many critics have doubted that vv.1-4 and vv 5-9 originally belonged together. But important features of vv 5-7 link these verses back to vv 1-4,[4] and the next clear emergence of a completely different genre occurs at vv 10-

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like this one, where a purpose or destination is pointed out; cf. 43:21; 45:18; 49:5; Jer 1:5; Ps 104:26. In a more detailed discussion, one might further argue that "to fashion" makes for a more regular poetic lineation of vv 6-7.

[4] Both vv 1-4 and 6-7 tell of divine actions toward the elect of YHWH, and of tasks to be performed by this character. The activity ascribed to YHWH is much the same in both passages (compare lines 1 and 20), and the expected results overlap (e.g., to lines 4 and 9, compare line 22). Moreover, the solemnity of YHWH's speech to his elect (v 5!) suggests the presence of a larger audience, interested in this individual and his mission; those people could easily be the same undefined circle to which the Servant has first been introduced in vv 1-4.

12, an unmistakable hymnic introduction.

The boundaries of our pericope can be defined even more precisely with regard to its general context, which lies between the long disputation using hymnic and wisdom motifs in 40:12-31, and the hymnic composition in 42:10-17.

A detailed survey would show that Isaiah 41:1-29 enshrines a block of comforting oracles to Israel (41:8-20) between speeches challenging foreign nations and rival deities, and that both of these major components are intended to confirm the exiles in their faith and hope in YHWH. To this same effect, 42:1-7 adds one more demonstration of YHWH's unique foreknowledge, after which vv 8-9 return to the general framework of boasts and challenges tying 41:1-42:9 together. It should be clear from this analysis that these last two verses cannot be considered as forming part of the First Servant Song.[5]

We are left with Isa 42:1-7, a passage playing a well-defined role in the present structure of the book, and large enough to reflect a relatively complex social phenomenon such as an appointment ceremony.

Defining the Notion of Appointment Ceremony

Back to classification! As I stated earlier, the only acceptable yardstick is to be sought in a large sample of appointment ceremonies. But the very process of selecting these examples requires a certain notion of what an appointment ceremony should be like.

Accordingly, my basic pre-supposition will be that of *a public action in the course of which someone is put into*

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[5] For the analysis of the general organization of Isa 41:21-42:9, and particularly the role and placement of 42:8-9, I would recommend H.C. Spykerboer, *The Structure and Composition of Deutero-Isaiah, with Special Reference to the Polemics against Idolatry* (Franeker: Wever, 1976) 77-92.

office. Three main participants are necessary to such a function: an Appointer, a New official, and a Public. What passes between them can be speech or gesture and might move in either direction, but the only crucial action goes from Appointer to Appointee; it is the transmission of powers, either directly or through an intermediary, either verbally or symbolically.

Selecting Examples

With these criteria in mind, I selected forty-eight scenes of installation into office,[6] both from the bible and from ancient cultures likely to have been in touch with Israel, or to have known comparable socio-political structures. I accepted literary texts as well as iconographic representations, from the realms of administration and of religious life alike:

Chart 2

	Document	Date	Appointment
	Ancient Israel (sequencing of MT)		
1	Governor of the city in Israel (a bulla)	7th c. B.C.	City governor
2	First humans (Gen 1:26-30)	6th c. B.C.	Lords of creation
3	Noah and Sons (Gen 9:1-7)	6th c. B.C.	Lords of creation
4	Joseph (Gen 41:37-45)	7th c. B.C.?	Vizier

[6] I have been noting down many of these examples at random over a period of about seven years. Further suggestions came from colleagues in the Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Toronto, and particularly from Professor R.J. Leprohon; others were culled from commentaries and from the following works: K. Baltzer, *Die Biographie der Propheten* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1975); M. Dijkstra, "De Koninklijke Knecht (...)," *De Knecht* (Kampen: Kok, 1978) 41-52; D.J. McCarthy, "An Installation Genre?," *JBL* 90 1971 31-41; D.B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (*SVT* 20; Leiden: Brill, 1970) (the largest single contribution).

5	Bezaleel (Exod 35:30-36:1)	6th c. B.C.	Chief Artist
6	Priests of Yhwh (Lev 8-9)	6th c. B.C.	Priests
7	Joshua (Num 27:15-23)	6th c. B.C.	Theocratic leader
8	Judges (Deut 1:9-18, esp. 15-18)	6th c. B.C.	Judges
9	Joshua (Deut 31:1-8)	6th c. B.C.	Theocratic leader
10	Saul (1 Sam 10:17-25)	9th c. B.C.	King
11	Solomon (1 Kgs 1:32-40)	9th c. B.C.	King (co-regent)
12	Jehoash of Judah (2 Kgs 11:9-14)	8th c. B.C.	King
13	Eliaqim (Isa 22:20-23)	8th c. B.C.	Master of Palace
14	Daniel (Dan 5:29; cf. 7, 16)	3rd c. B.C.?	3rd in kingdom
15	Son of Man (Dan 7:9-10, 13-14)	2nd c. B.C.	King (-special)
16	Solomon as Builder (1 Chron 28)	4th c. B.C.	Temple builder
17	Judges in Judah (2 Chron 19:4-7)	4th c. B.C.	Judges
18	Judges in Jerusalem (2 Chron 19:8-11)	4th c. B.C.	Judge
19	Hezekiah's generals (2 Chron 32:6-8)	4th c. B.C.	Generals
	(Early Judaism)		
20	Adam, Vita Adae et Evae, Chs. 13-16	1st c. A.D.?	Lord of creation
	(Early Christianity)		
21	"The Seven," Acts 6:2-6	1st c. A.D.	Church wardens
	(Egypt and Its Empire [Alphabetically])		
22	Addu-nirari of Nuhasse, EA 51:4-9	15th c. B.C.	King (vassal)
23	Amenuser, Thebes, Tomb No.131, papTurin pl.1	15th c. B.C.	Associate Vizier
24	Aspalta, Gebel Barkal stele Cairo M.939	6th c. B.C.	King
25	Hatshepsut installed by Thutmose I	15th c. B.C.	King (co-regent)

26	Hatshepsut presented by Amun	15th c. B.C.	King (co-regent)
27	Huy, Thebes, Tomb No.40, East Wall	14th c. B.C.	Viceroy of Nubia
28	Huya, El-Amarna tomb, N.W. wall, W. side	14th c. B.C.	Queen's Treasurer
29	Kenamun, Thebes, Tomb No.93	15th c. B.C.	Chief Steward
30	Mahu, El-Amarna tomb, back wall, N. side	14th c. B.C.	Chief of Police
31	Meryre, El-Amarna tomb, S. wall, W. side	14th c. B.C.	High Priest
32	Nebamun, Thebes, Tomb No. 90	14th c. B.C.	Chief of Police
33	Nebwenenef, Thebes, Tomb No.157	13th c. B.C.	High Priest
34	Nessamtowy, papRylands IX 14.9-14	7th c. B.C.	High Priest
35	Pediesi "I", papRylands IX 5, 18-6,7	7th c. B.C.	Governor's Deputy
36	Rekhmire, Thebes, Tomb No. 100	15th c. B.C.	Vizier, Upper Egypt
37	Tutu, El-Amarna tomb, W. wall, N. & S. side	14th c. B.C.	2nd Priest

(The Assyro-Babylonian World [Alphabetically])

38	Amme-Baal, Tukulti-Ninurta II, Annals, 11-29	9th c. B.C.	King (vassal)
39	King of Izirtu, Sargon, Prism B, frmt F	7th c. B.C.	King (vassal)
40	King of Mari, Palace of Zimri-Lim, loc.106	18th c. B.C.	King
41	Kingu, Enuma elish, I, 148-158	12th c. B.C.	General (of gods)
42	Marduk, Enuma elish, IV, beginning	12th c. B.C.?	King (of gods)
43	Nabopolassar, BM 34793, col.iii (?)	6th c. B.C.	King
44	Neko, Assurbanipal, Rassam		

	Cyl. II, 8-17	7th c. B.C.	King (vassal)
45	Rimutu, ABL 293 (+ CT 54, 484).	7th c. B.C.	Tribal Chief?
46	Ummanigash, Nineveh, S.W. Palace, BM 124802	7th c. B.C.	King (vassal)
	(The Hittite Empire)		
47	Duppi-Tessub treaty with Murshil II	14th c.B.C.	King (vassal)
	(The Parthian Empire)		
48	Kabneshkir, relief, Khong-e Nouruzi, Khuzestan	2nd c. B.C.	Satrap

At the core of this data base are twenty-three depictions, or unquestionable reflections, of ceremonials enacted in real life. With much hesitation, I also accepted twenty-five somewhat problematic examples: unclear or badly damaged iconographic documents; fictional derivatives found mostly in tales, hoary legends or myths; or exceedingly laconic allusions. It is often hard to sort out the primary sources from the more problematic examples, but this distinction is important and will be constantly taken into account in my discussion. The documentary values I attribute to the various sources considered in this paper are tabulated in Chart 3.

Chart 3

	Example	**Documentary Value**
1	Governor of the city in Israel (seal)	Unclear
2	First humans(Gen 1:26-30)	Derivative
3	Noah and Sons (Gen 9:1-7)	Derivative
4	Joseph (Gen 41:37-45)	Derivative
5	Bezaleel (Exod 35:30-36:1)	Derivative
6	Priests of Yhwh (Lev 8-9)	Derivative
7	Joshua (Num 27:15-23)	Derivative

8	Judges (Deut 1:9-18, esp. 15-18)	Derivative
9	Joshua (Deut 31:1-8)	Derivative
10	Saul (1 Sam 10:17-25)	Derivative
11	Solomon (1 Kgs 1:32-40)	Primary
12	Jehoash of Judah (2 Kgs 11:9-14)	Primary
13	Eliaqim (Isa 22:20-23)	Primary
14	Daniel (Dan 5:29 cf. 7, 16)	Derivative
15	Son of Man (Dan 7:9-10, 13-14)	Derivative
16	Solomon as Builder (1 Chron 28)	Derivative
17	Judges in Judah (2 Chron 19:4-7)	Derivative
18	Judges in Jerusalem (2 Chron 19:8-11)	Derivative
19	Hezekiah's generals (2 Chron 32:6-8)	Derivative
20	Adam, Vita Adae et Evae, chs. 13-16)	Derivative
21	"The Seven" (Acts 6:2-6)	Primary
22	Addu-nirari of Nuhasse, EA 51:4-9	Primary
23	Amenuser, Thebes, Tomb No.131, papTurin pl.1	Primary
24	Aspalta, Gebel Barkal stele, Cairo M.939	Primary
25	Hatshepsut installed by Thutmose I	Derivative
26	Hatshepsut presented by Amun	Derivative
27	Huy, Thebes, Tomb No.40, East wall	Primary
28	Huya, El-Amarna tomb, NW. wall, W. side	Primary
29	Kenamun, Thebes, Tomb No. 93	Primary
30	Mahu, El-Amarna tomb, back wall, N. side	Primary
31	Meryre, El-Amarna tomb, S. wall, W. side	Primary
32	Nebamun, Thebes, Tomb No. 90	Primary
33	Nebwenenef, Thebes, Tomb No. 157	Primary
34	Nessamtowy, papRylands IX, 14.8-14	Primary
35	Pediesi "I", papRylands IX, 5, 18-6, 7	Primary
36	Rekhmire, Thebes, Tomb No. 100	Primary
37	Tutu, El-Amarna tomb, W. wall, N. & S. side	Primary
38	Amme-Baal, Tukulti-Ninurta II, Annals, 11-29	Laconic
39	King of Izirtu, Sargon, Prism B, frmt F	Primary
40	King of Mari, Palace of Zimri-Lim, loc.106	Unclear
41	Kingu, Enuma elish I, 148-158	Derivative
42	Marduk, Enuma elish, IV, beginning	Derivative
43	Nabopolassar, BM 34793, col. iii(?)	Incomplete
44	Neko, Assurbanipal, Rassam Cyl. II, 8-17	Primary
45	Rimutu, ABL 293 (+CT 54, 484)	Primary

46	Ummanigash, Nineveh, S.W. Palace, BM 124802	Primary
47	Duppi-Tessub treaty with Murshil II	Primary
48	Kabneshkir, relief at Khong-e Nouruzi, Khuzestan	Unclear, Incomplete

Analyzing Isa 42:1-7 in terms of appointment ceremonies

Returning to Isa 42:1-7, the first thing to do is analyze this pericope in terms of the theoretical ingredients of appointment ceremonies which were pointed out above. Only then will it be possible to compare it with the examples in Chart 2, examining how well this pericope agrees with practices documented elsewhere, and how much is missing that one should find if it were inspired from institutional models.

The first part of our pericope, i.e., vv 1-4, can be described hypothetically as a speech of the Apppointer, introducing his chosen new official to an undefined circle. It describes the Servant's task, but it also *predicts* the gentle but unflinching way he is to acquit himself. The initial *hn*of v 1 may hint at the gesture of leading the candidate forward into an assembly.

This section is followed by a direct address to the Servant, apparently proclaimed by some sort of a herald using the so-called Messenger Formula to speak in his master's name. Isa 42:6-7 as a whole sounds like a job definition, albeit unusually poetical, and 6bβ can be construed as a performative, a verbal utterance morally accomplishing what it says, as the more prosaic "I hereby appoint you."[7]

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[7] There is no trace of gestual elements in this section; seizing the hand (6a) is not a ceremonial gesture but a metaphor representing YHWH's strengthening of his Elect. See 45:1 for a warlike application, or 51:58, where this metaphor pictures the comforting of a mother by her sons.

Features present in Isa 42:1-7 and in the data base

The Appointer's Address to the Public (Isa 42:1-4)

How well do these features agree with structures present in our forty-eight examples?

In appointment scenes from the ancient Near East, the Appointer sometimes addresses the assembly as YHWH seems to do in Isa 42:1-4, but this is not very frequent. In our data base, there are thirteen or fourteen examples, only five or six of which can be considered as primary evidence.[8]

Furthermore, in only four of these examples does the Appointer address the assembly to introduce the new official, as YHWH does in Isa 42:1-4. The presentation of Bezaleel; the presentation of Hatshepsut by Thutmose;[9] the presentation of Hatsheptsut by Amun himself;[10] and finally, the designation of the Nubian king Aspalta by an oracle of Amon-Re.[11]

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8 In this list and similar ones to follow, "primary" pieces of evidence and "others" will be listed separately. Primary: 22, 23, 24, 29, 37, 47. Other: 5, 8, 10, 14, 16, 20, 25, 26.

9 "Said his majesty before them: 'This my daughter, Khnemet-Amon, Hatsehpsut, who liveth, I have appointed [her] —; she is my successor upon my throne, she assuredly is who shall sit upon my wonderful seat. She shall command the people in every place of the palace; she it is who shall lead you; ye shall proclaim her word, ye shall be united at her command. He who shall do her homage shall live, he who shall speak evil in blasphemy of her majesty shall die. Whosoever proclaims with unanimity the name of her majesty (fem.,) shall enter immediately into the royal chamber, just as it was done by the name of this Horus (viz., by my name).'" (Breasted, *ARE* 2, §97).

10 "Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of [heaven to] the gods: 'Behold ye, my daugher [Hatshepsut] living; be ye loving toward her and be ye satisfied with her.'" (ibid., §89).

11 "Then this god, Amon-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, said: 'He is your king. It is he who will revive you. It is he who will build every temple of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is he who will present their divine offerings. His father was my son, the Son of Re (...). He is

Like Isa 42:1-4, the first (Bezaleel), second (Hatshepsut: Thutmose), and fourth (Aspalta) of these examples include delineations of the new appointees' responsibilities, but the main affinities of 42:1-4 link it to the *fictional* story of Bezaleel's appointment.

The Appointer's Speech to the New Official

When the Appointer speaks up in Near Eastern appointment scenes, this is normally to address the candidate, as YHWH does in Isa 42:5-7. Commissioning speeches like this are found in about half of our data base, i.e., in at least twenty-four examples eleven of which are of primary value.[12] In fifteen instances, four of which of primary quality, these words of the Appointer to the new official, alone or accompanied by gestures, seem central to the whole event.[13]

In his commissioning speech, the Appointer sometimes delineates the new official's task as YHWH does in Isa 42:6-7 (nine examples),[14] but he can also enuntiate performatives as YHWH seems to do in Isa 42:6Bb (eleven examples).[15] In the story of Pediesi, for example, Pharaoh is expected to invest the candidate with his new powers by telling him: "Patros is committed unto thee" (papRylands IX, 6, 3). The same thing happens in mythological narratives; in Enuma elish, I, 154, Tiamat tells Kingu: "I have placed in your hand [16] kingship over the gods, all of them."

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your lord.'" (*ANET*, 448).

12 Primary: 27, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 45. Other: 2, 3, 4, 6?, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 25, 38?, 41, 42, 43.

13 Primary: 33, 35, 36, 37. Other: 2, 3, 4 (with gesture), 7 (with gesture), 8, 16, 17, 18, 25, 41 (with gesture), 43?

14 Primary: 13, 29, 33. Other: 3, 5, 7, 16, 18, 25.

15 Primary: 11, (peculiarly placed), 13?, 27, 31, 35, 37. Other: 3, 4, 25, 41, 42.

16 Literally: "I have filled thy hand with ...," as in a well-known biblical formula.

Another frequent feature of commissioning speeches is the exhortation to appropriate standards of conduct (ten examples).[17] This aspect is not clearly represented in Isa 42:5-7; if it is reflected at all in the "First Servant Song," this happens in a roundabout way, i.e., in the predictions of vv 2-4.[18]

The Appointer Addressing the New Official through a Herald

In Isa 42 YHWH does not address his Servant directly; he has the designation seemingly proclaimed through some sort of a herald. Elsewhere this practice is unusual.

Out of twenty-two examples which can be interpreted with any confidence,[19] the Appointer addresses his new official directly in seventeen cases.[20] Five times someone else speaks in the Appointer's name; but in four of these cases, the Appointer is no ordinary ruler and the speaker no ordinary herald: the speaker is a theocratic leader,[21] implementing God's decree. The only example from the world of ordinary experience is that of Tutankhamun's Nubian viceroy Huy, whose designation is announced to him by the Overseer of the Treasury. In two further examples, those of Adam in the Vita Adae et Evae, and of Daniel in Dan 5:29, heralds are used to proclaim the new ap-

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17 Primary: 29, 34, 36, 45. Other: 3, 8, 9, 16, 17, 19. In examples 9, 16, 19 and 45, the new appointee is exhorted to courage; No. 16 at least is a striking example of *Formzwang*.

18 Other features occasionally found in commissioning speeches are the mention of the new official's privileges (Nos. 10, 25, 32); or the praise of the new appointee (Nos. 32, 42). Instructions on ritual are found in No. 6, and theological developments in No. 33.

19 Primary: 27, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. Other: 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18, 19, 25, 41.

20 Primary: 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. Other: 2, 3, 4, 8, 17, 18, 19, 25, 41, 42.

21 Moses, Nos. 6, 7, 9; or the David of Chronicles, No. 16.

pointment not to the new dignitary as in Isa 42:1-4, but to the public.

In light of these facts, the herald's intervention in Isa 42:5 seems to be due to the divine character of the Appointer rather than the imitation of court ceremonials.

The Problem of Ceremonial Gestures

In Isa 42:1-7 YHWH does not use any gesture to invest his servant with powers. But elsewhere ceremonial gestures are the most often depicted moment of appointment scenes. This element may be present in as many as thirty-two examples,[22] which include 20, i.e., 87% of the 23 primary examples. It plays a key role twenty-one times, [23] including 14, i.e. 61%, of the primary examples.

Among ceremonial gestures, the transmission of insignia or of status symbols[24] is particularly well documented; alone or with other significant gestures, this component occurs at least twenty times.[25] This remarkable frequency cannot be due only to the pictorial character of a large part of the data base, since thirteen examples are purely textual,[26] just as Isa 42:1-7. In the Isaiah pericope, insignia/status symbols are not clearly represented. If there was massive evidence in support of the institutional model, one might be tempted to

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22 Primary: 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 44, 45, 46. Other: 1, 4, 6, 7, 14, 20, 25, 26, 40, 41, 42, 43.

23 Primary: 11, 12, 13, 22, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 39, 44, 45. Other: 1, 4, 6, 7, 14, 40, 41.

24 In practice, I often found it impossible to distinguish between these two categories, not is the line easy to draw between insignia/status symbols and lavish rewards bestowed upon servants of pharaoh. See D.B. Redford's criticism of J. Vergote (Redford, *Biblical Story of Joseph*, 208-226), and K. A. Kitchen's criticism of Redford (review in *OrAnt* 12 (1973) 240-241).

25 Primary: 12, 13, 27, 30, 31?, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 44, 45. Other: 1?, 4, 6, 14, 40, 41, 42, 43.

26 Nos. 4, 6, 12, 13, 14, 34, 35, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45.

construe the gift of the spirit (v 1b) as a transposition of this motif; but the gift of the spirit is probably borrowed from biblical models such as Num 11:25,29.[27]

Other ceremonial gestures well documented are the anointing of the new official (four times), [28] and his being led forward by the Appointer or his deputy (7 times).[29] This gesture might be hinted at by the initial *hn* in Isa 42:1.

A feature of appointment ceremonies not represented in Isa 42:1-7

The Response of the Assembled Community

In nineteen examples from the ancient Near East, the assembled community responds verbally to the designation of a new official.[30] Eleven of these examples are of primary documentary value; they comprise 48% of the primary examples.

In thirteen appointment scenes from the Near East, the response is physical: people bow down, raise their hands in praise, etc.[31] Eight of these examples are of primary docu-

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27 The strikingly identical expression found in this text is often overlooked by commentators anxious to construe Isa 42:1-4 as a royal designation on the basis of the less similar phrase found, e.g., at Isa 11:2.

28 Primary: 11, 12, 22. Other: 6. This symbolic gesture is known to have been more common in the Egyptian sphere of influence than our data base indicates. See, already, W. Spiegelberg, "*Die Symbolik des Salbens im Ägyptischen*," *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 28 (1906) 184-85; more recently, R. J. Williams, in *The Legacy of Egypt* (ed. J.R. Harris; 2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1971) 275.

29 Primary: 11, 12, 46. Other: 6, 7, 20, 25.

30 Primary: 11, 12, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37, 46, 47. Other: 6, 8, 10, 25, 26, 38, 42, 43.

31 Primary: 12, 27, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 46. Other: 6, 20, 25, 26,

mentary value; that is 35% of the primary examples.[32] One can say that in roughly half of the primary examples, the public responds to the proclamation of the new appointment.

Second Isaiah was not averse to explicitly noting the response, or lack of response, of the imaginary assemblies he staged in passages like 41:11-12, 28. Therefore, it may be significant that he does not hint at any audience reaction whatsoever at 42:1-7.

Conclusion

In conclusion, one must admit that the First Song of the Servant of the Lord shares with ancient Near Eastern appointment scenes some features lending an appearance of justification to its current literary classification. The beginning of the pericope suggests that the Ebed is being led forward into an assembly, and YHWH addresses both this assembly and his own servant, delineating his task and proclaiming his designation with the performatives of v.6bβ.

However, as an appointment scene, Isa 42:1-7 strikes me as quite peculiar. It exhibits unusual features such as a speech of the Appointer to introduce the new official to the public and the use of a herald to address the new appointee, and it lacks important components such as the delivery of insignia or status symbols, and the response of the assembly.

Particularly significant is the fact that, in the Appointer's address to his new minister, *exhortation* is now replaced by *prediction*, YHWH telling at length how his Servant is going to acquit himself of his mission, and putting a special stress on the gentleness of his behaviour (Isa 42:1β-4).

This essential feature of the first Song of the Servant of

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32 Almost all the examples involving a physical response also involve a verbal response, but in the tomb of Nebamun, only the physical response is recorded.

the Lord distinguishes Isa 42:1-7 from all its would-be parallels.[33] More than any other aspect of our pericope, this one is conditioned by its literary context within 41:1-42:9, not by institutional models; *Sitz im Buch*, not *Sitz im Leben.*

In my opinion, the presentation style used in v 1, just like the similar expressions used in Job 40:15 to open the Behemoth pericope, is only motivated by YHWH's will to parade before the world his capable and devoted Servant. The remaining affinities of Isa 42:1-7 for appointment scenes could be quite accidental, resulting perhaps, as submitted by many literary critics past and present, from the redactional addition of a modified Cyrus oracle (vv 5-7) to the artful prediction of the Servant's mission in vv 1–4; but probing once again into this classical problem would call for another full-size inquiry.

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33 Some expressions used in the oracle of Amun designating Aspalta as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" sound superficially like predictions, but they simply repeat formulas used previously in the same text to describe the leader sought by the governing bodies of Nubia.

Appendix

Bibliographic notes on the non-biblical examples

1. N. Avigad, "The Governor of the City," *IEJ* 26 (1976) 178-82; G. Barkay, "A Second Bulla of a Sar Ha-`ir," *Qadmoniot* 10 (1977) 69-71 (Hebrew); N. Avigad, "On 'A Second Bulla of a Sar Ha-`ir'," *Qadmoniot* 11 (1978) 34 (Hebrew); N. Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah.* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986) No. 10, pp 30-33.

20. M.D.Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985). 2. 262.

22. J.A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln.* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915). 1. 318-19.

23. W. Helck, "*Die Berufung des Vezirs Wsr,*" *Ägyptologische Studien Hermann Grapow zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet.* (Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 29; ed. O. Firchow; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955) 107-17.

24. J.A. Wilson, in *ANET* 447-48. For Egyptian text, see now N.-C.Grimal, *Quatre stèles napatéennes au Musée du Caire, JE* 48863-48866 (Cairo: Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale, 1981).

25. E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari.* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898). 3. Pls. 60-62; Trans. in *ARE* 2. 96-99, §§ 235-239.

26. E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari.* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898). 3. Pl.56, 17th scene; Trans. in *ARE* 2.88-89, §§ 217-220.

27. N. de Garis Davies and A.A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy Viceroy of Nubia in the Reign of Tut`ankhamun.* (No.40) (Theban Tombs Series, Memoir 3; London: Egypt

Exploration Fund, 1926) pls. 4-8 and pp 10-11.

28. N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna.* Vol.3 (Memoir 15; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905) pl. 16 and pp. 12-13.

29. N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes.* (Egyptian Expedition 5; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930).

30. N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna.* Vol.4 (Memoir 16; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1906) pl. 17 and p 17.

31. N. de Garis Davies *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna.* Vol. 1 (Memoir 13; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903) pls. 6-8 and pp 20-23.

32. N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Thutmosis the Fourth.* (Nos. 75 and 90) (The Theban Tombs Series, Memoir 3; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1923) pls. 26-27 and pp 34-36.

33. G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Ammon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIe dynastie.* (Paris: Guethner, 1929) pp 119-122.

34. F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library,* Manchester. (Manchester Univeristy Press, 1909).3. 92.

35. F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1909). 3. 78-79.

36. N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes.* (Publication 11; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943); Trans. J.A. Wilson, in *ANET* 213.

37. N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* . Vol. 6 (Memoir 18; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1908) pls. 17-18 (esp.17) and pp 10-11; pls. 19-21 (esp. 19) and pp 12-14.

38. A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions Records of the Ancient Near East* 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976). 2. 99-100, § 467.

39. H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons.* (Leipzig: Pfeiffer, (1889). 2. pl.45. Trans. in [*AR*]. 2. 210-211.

40. Y.M. Al-Khalesi, *The Court of the Palms: A Functional Interpretation of the Mari Palace.* (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica; Malibu: Undena, 1978).

41. W.G. Lambert and S.B. Parker, *Enuma elish: The Babylonian Epic of Creation, The Cuneiform Text.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966) pp 6-7. Trans. E.A. Speiser in *ANET* 62-63.

42. W.G. Lambert and S.B. Parker, *Enuma elish: The Babylonian Epic of Creation, The Cuneiform Text.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966) 21-22, Trans. E.A. Speiser in *ANET* 66.

43. A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts.* (Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies 3; University of Toronto Press, 1975) 84-85.

44. R. Borger, *Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke.* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1963). 2. 83; 3. pl. 53. Trans. A.L. Oppenheim in *ANET* 295.

45. L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1930). 1. 204-205; see also M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Nineveh's.* (VAB 7; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916). 1.CXXIX-CXXX.

46. A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures: Palace of Sinacherib.* (The Hague; Nijhoff, 1915) pls. 65-66.

47. A. Goetze in *ANET* 204.

48. L. Vanden Berghe, "Le relief parthe de Hung-i Nauruzi," *Iranica Antiqua* 3 (1963) 154-168 and pls. 53-56; J. Harmatta, "Parthia and Elymais in the Second Century B.C.," *Acta Antiqua* 29 (1981) 189-211, esp. 210.

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"A CHANGE OF HEART"
1 SAMUEL 16

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At face value: that is how people take the famous saying of the Lord in 1 Sam 16:7:

> But the Lord said unto Samuel, 'Look not on his countenance, or on the height of his stature; because I have refused him: for the Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart.'

The Lord is God after all, and the statement seems to reiterate the same divine qualities of constancy and justice that piety has always found in the Almighty. Belief and reading are one and the same.[1] What else could anyone say or believe about God?

There is, in fact, an alternative manner of viewing this assertion about God. It comes about by paying close attention to the existing narrative context of the saying. In other words, it comes about by paying careful attention to the literary work in which the saying has been framed by the author who has chosen to so frame it. So framed, the elevated tone and sentiments of the Lord's condescending advice to Samuel actually shed a contrary illumination on these traits of the divine Character. If the narrative context in which the Lord makes this statement undercuts it, then it is a white lie at best and overbearing deception otherwise.[2]

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1 H.W. Hertzberg (*I & II Samuel* [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964] 139), for example, calls it a "fine statement," exhibiting the tendency of biblical readers to accept divine statements as true no matter what light the literary context might shed on them.

2 To the inevitable reply that such a reading is a maniacal flight in the face of the "biblical understanding" of God, Jeremiah's retort will

The opportunity for God to proclaim his manner of selecting a king is created by Samuel's supposed inanity in the selection process. Samuel is instructed by God to stop mourning the fall of Saul and to go to Jesse to select a replacement. "I have seen[3] me a king among his [Jesse's] sons," (cf. H.P. Smith (1899:144), "I have looked me out a king"). So Samuel, ever the obedient, goes to Jesse to choose the new king.[4] As soon as Samuel sees Eliab he thinks he has seen the anointed of the Lord (1 Sam 16:6). It is for this automatic reaction to Eliab that God scolds Samuel for his foibled human methods of selection and proclaims his own fabled insight.

From the reader's privileged perspective on the proceedings this insight into the thoughts of Samuel and the private counsel of God to Samuel, to which no mortal character within the story has access, raises two important questions. What makes Samuel think that Eliab is the chosen one as soon as he sees him? Why does God profess such strong concern for the correct psychological profile and neglect for the physical prowess of the new king? These are the questions that the narrative raises for the reader at this point. Samuel's actual choice and the identity of the chosen individual are lesser concerns. The reader is, consequently, led by preceding context to a suspicion that all is not so simple as God says it is.

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suffice: "O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed" (Jer 20:7). The biblical God is quite capable of deception if it suits his purpose, as the divine advice on subterfuge to Samuel in this very same chapter (1 Sam 16:2) reveals.

3 On the electoral sense of the verb *rā'â*, "to see," in 1 Samuel see Eslinger (1985:473 n. 34); Fokkelman (1986:114); Mettinger (1976:112f); Clark 1971:275 n. 3). Cf. 1 Sam 10:24.

The *Leitwort* connections based on this verb in chap. 16 are explored in detail by Fokkelman.

4 Fokkelman (1986:114) correctly points out a certain amount of reluctance on the part of Samuel, who fears for his life on account of the enmity that Samuel has put between them (v 2). I note Samuel's obedience because he goes anyway, having received a rather thin guise from God.

Preceding Context

The information to construct answers to these questions is imbedded mainly in the preceding narrative context.[5] The narrator has provided the clue to look in that direction by making this new scene parallel to the preceding scene of Saul's path to the throne. Chap. 16 opens with the Lord's directive to Samuel to stop mourning Saul, whom God has rejected from reigning over Israel (*mĕʾastîw mimmlōk ʿal yiśrāʾēl*). The words recall 1 Sam 8:7, where the reigning king, God, was also rejected from reigning over Israel (*kî-ʾōtî māʾăsû mimmlōk ʿălêhem*). The outgoing kings may be on different ontological planes, but the situations in which they find themselves are the same, as the included vocabulary parallels intend to show. A second similarity between the incidents, also supported by a vocabulary linkage, is that the replacement is anointed after someone is sent (*šlḥ*) by divine mission to anoint him (ch. 9 [*šlḥ* in v 16]; 16:1).[6] In both, a public sacrifice is used as a symbolic pretext for the anointing (16:2–5; 9:19–27). In both cases a group of unknowing celebrants are "invited" (*qrʾ*, 16:3, 5;

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5 The literary parallels and connections between chap. 16 and the preceding literary context have frequently been noted, unfortunately with little attention to the semantic implications for chap. 16 and the existing narrative. See e.g. H.W. Hertzberg (1964:136).

6 Though there is the difference that in chap. 9 Saul is sent to Samuel and in chap. 16 Samuel is sent to Jesse's sons, it does not detract from the parallelism. Larger differences between the two situations are responsible for this particular change. In chap. 8 Samuel had refused to obey the divine order to proclaim a king over Israel, sending the people home instead (8:7, 9, 22). In that case it was necessary for God to bring the chosen replacement to the recalcitrant prophet. With chap. 16 and the rejection of Saul, however, Samuel has already accepted the rejection (15:26, 28). His readiness to carry out the mission entrusted to him, in spite of his regrets, is established by the prior sequence of grief (15:11) followed by announcement of rejection (15:26, 28) played out by Samuel in the preceding chapter. Finally a loyal Yahwist like Samuel would certainly be less offended by the replacement of a human king, who had needlessly replaced the divine king (cf. 12:17, 21) than he was by the request for a replacement for Yahweh himself (chap. 8).

9:13, 22, 24) to the occasion. With regard to the strategy of choosing the new king the situations are nearly identical.

The connection between the two occasions for anointing encourages the reader, as parallels in the Bible always do, to ask what bearing the first anointing might have on the second and what such bearing might reveal about Samuel's reaction to Eliab and God's reaction to Samuel's supposition. Samuel's reaction to the sight of Eliab is unexplained in its immediate narrative context. If Samuel supposes too much the second time something like this occurs, perhaps the first instance has led him to do so. The expositional gap about Samuel's reasons throws the reader back first on his own resources, the preceding context, and last on general analogies from human psychology and behaviour, much weaker interpretive vehicles.

In the first instance of choosing and anointing a king, Saul's size and appearance played a crucial role.[7] From start (9:2) to finish (10:23–24) in the inaugural process, Saul's exceptional stature is central to his selection as king by both God and man.[8] In that case the reader, initially puzzled by the mysterious descriptions of Saul's size when the latter is introduced to the story in chap. 9, finally discovers its utility to the divine purpose in Samuel's shrewd manipulations in chap. 10. God chooses the giant Saul and Samuel points out his immensity with a view to winning acceptance for their puppet king from the people.[9] The people's acceptance of

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7 Cf. H.P. Smith (1899:145), a reader who has seen the connection between God's remonstrance against Samuel's view of Eliab and the previous selection of Saul according to size, but who fails to understand it and only mentions it.

8 When the reader is introduced to the mysterious manner in which God picks Saul and leads him to Samuel for anointing, the only attributes of Saul that are described are, in fact, his physical attributes. This expression of narratorial selectivity in description leads the reader, quite properly, to believe that Saul's size does have something to do with the events in which he is becoming entangled.

9 Cf. Eslinger (1985:349–51) for a discussion of this divine strategem and the literary dynamics involved between the mysterious size description of 9:2 and the revelation of its significance in 10:24.

Saul is an acceptance of a constitutionally limited monarchy (cf. 9:15–16; 10:25), exactly the opposite of the kind of king they asked for in the first place (8:5–8). Saul's extraordinary size is used to get Israel to accept a king that they would, in principle reject (cf. 8:5, 7, 20; Eslinger 1985:254–9). Convinced that they are getting their secularized warrior–king, a man of obvious qualification to lead them in victorious battle (cf. 8:20), the Israelite people are duped and they accept a king whose mandate is firmly under the control of the old theocratic regime (cf. 10:25–7; Eslinger 1985:348–58).

The role that Saul's size plays in the strategies and deception that attends his installation as king leaves the reader in some uncertainty over God's personal attitude towards Saul's size. Did God also find Saul's appearance an attraction that drew him to Saul, or was it merely a device, manipulated by God, to procure assent for his new puppet king, his "designate" (*nāgîd*)? Did he see as man sees at that point or did he only choose with an eye to what man finds attractive?

No information to answer this question is provided in the text of Saul's journey to the throne. The text forces the reader to wait for more information to clarify God's own attitudes toward Saul and his appearance. One thing is certain: God does not find Saul's "heart," however submissive, totally acceptable. So he intervenes directly and gives Saul another heart (*lēb 'aḥēr*, 10:9) to ensure that Saul has the divinely approved psychological profile. This privileged revelation, not offered even to Samuel let alone any other human character in the story world, demonstrates with all the certitude of an exposé by the authoritative narrator that God does not choose Saul for his heart rather than his appearance. Whether or not God himself found Saul's size attractive or not, his actions in the choice of Saul speak louder than his words against the choice of Eliab, especially since his actions are revealed unbeknown to him, devoid of the rhetorical cloak that clothes his words to Samuel in chap. 16.

More important than the reader's lack of insight into the divine appreciation for Saul's appearance is Samuel's. All that Samuel knows is that God has chosen a big man whose attraction is obvious and of great utility in gaining the people's assent to a king they would not want (10:24). Samuel knows less than the reader (because he is not privy to the narratorial revelation in 10:9) whether the selection of the giant was purely strategic or whether God himself found Saul's appearance pleasing. And so, the reader cannot be sure whether Samuel's rhetoric in 10:24 is disingenuous or innocent. All we know is that Samuel has made the connection between Saul's stature and God's choice of Saul as king.[10] Samuel's understanding of the correlation between size and divine choice is correct and profitable at the level of political strategy. It may also be accurate at the level of divine psychology; Samuel is given no coaching about how to play on Saul's size, yet he does an admirable job that achieves the divine purpose. Agreement between God's purpose and Samuel's promotional campaign is highlighted by the agreement between the narrator's mysterious focus on Saul's size right at the outset of the series of divinely guided events leading to his inauguration (9:2–3) and Samuel's return, during his sales pitch, to the same observations and vocabulary (10:24).

1 Sam 16

Turning from preceding context to Samuel's reaction back to Eliab, the reader can make only one inference about Samuel's reasoning: Eliab must,also be a big man, whose exceptional stature and appearance distinguish him from his fellows.[11] That is all Samuel has to go on, especially since

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10 Given the surrounding rhetorical context, in which Samuel's deceptive strategies are in open view it seems that no matter what Samuel himself believed about God's appreciation of Saul's size, Samuel uses it as bait to trap the feckless monarchists.

11 An example of such a reader inference is found in W.P. Barker (1966:88), "Eliab was such a strong, handsome soldier that the old

he knows nothing about Eliab and is seeing him, presumably, for the first time. This supposition is confirmed by the Lord's rebuke in 16:7. God chides Samuel for judging the selection of the anointee according to appearance (*mar'ēhû*) or height (*gĕbōahh qômātô*, 16:7). So Samuel thinks Eliab is the Lord's anointed (*mĕsîḥô*) on account of his size and appearance. The same quality — elevated stature — was exhibited by Saul when he was taken in the lottery (*wayyigbahh mikkol-hā'ām*, 10:23) and Samuel drew the people's attention to it using the verb related to the word "appearance" (*harrĕ'îtem*, "do you see," 10:24). Samuel's inference, that God would be likely to select another large, able–bodied anointee, is logically beyond

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prophet Samuel at first assumed that Eliab must be the man chosen to follow Saul as king."

reproach.[12] Why then, does God reprove Samuel with comments that extol his own omniscient insight at the expense of Samuel's meagre human inference?

There are two main points to the Lord's rebuke of Samuel. The points are closely related: God is higher than man and so God judges his prospective officers by internal, psychological standards. His omniscience allows him access to the heart of man, a province of human existence off–limits to members of that same species. The preceding context contains important information bearing on both of God's points. On both points, the information so supplied

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12 Fokkelman (1986:119–20) proposes another explanation for Samuel's assumption. "The mass of impressions on his retina overwhelms him. His eyes deceive him and seize on the most striking: the tall stature of the first–born. By hastily taking the decision "that must be him!" he wants to dissipate the great tension that held him." Fokkelman's reading, ever attentive to the psychological dimensions of the text, neglects too much the connection with Samuel's description of God's anointed in 10:24. Samuel does have experiential grounds for believing that Eliab is the one. Furthermore, Fokkelman makes a connection between Samuel's assumption and Eliab's stature and his status as first–born. But in v 6 Samuel does not know that Eliab is the first–born and there is no biological correlation between being first–born and the largest of siblings. According to Fokkelman, Samuel's perceptions lead him to forget that God himself had told him, "I will tell you who you shall anoint" (1986:120). Given that Samuel has already experienced one divine selection of an anointee and that that anointee was a big one, it would be only plausible for Samuel to assume that Eliab's size was the voice of God saying 'this is him.' The parallelism of v 6 with Samuel's first sighting of Saul (1 Sam 9:17) confirms this reading:

> "And Samuel saw (*r'h*) Saul and Yhwh answered him, "Behold the man that I spoke to you about ..." (1 Sam 9:17).
> "And as they came Samuel saw (*r'h*) Eliab and he thought surely before Yhwh [stands] his anointed" (1 Sam 16:6).

Samuel's thought (1 Sam 16:6) arises immediately, just before the point at which Yahweh speaks (v 7). It is based on the precedent setting anointment of Saul and merely applies the knowledge of experience, which Yahweh is at pains to correct in his response to Samuel's assumption.

comes directly from the narrator's own privileged insight, his so–called "omniscience." In this conflict of "omniscients" it is the narrator's perceptions that prove most revealing and which appear most truthful. The narrator's external, unconditioned view exposes the dubiety of God's assertion about the purity of his omniscience, embroiled as it is in this particular series of events.[13] And being external to the story and not conditioned by it or any other thing, there is nothing in the narrative that detracts from the credibility of the narratorial exposé.

The first point of interest has already been mentioned. It so happens that God's first choice of an anointee was a big man, one favourable to the eyes of man (10:24) and apparently also in the eyes of God. If God did not like Saul's appearance, after all, he could have chosen another. If God was neutral about it, he need not have compromised his psychological standards as he did when he chose Saul, a man whose heart had to be replaced before he could be set to his ordained tasks (10:9). The narrator reveals this radical divine intervention in 10:9 to show how God controls the entire affair (Eslinger 1985:327). The revelation discloses that God's very first choice was a man of attractive appearance but with a heart that God himself saw fit to change. Actions speak louder than words is just as axiomatic for character statements in the Bible as any other discourse situation. It seems that God did not apply the same standards of evaluation to the choice of Saul with which he chides Samuel in the case of Eliab. No doubt the reason for selecting on the basis of size was strategic and not concupiscient in the case of Saul — God chose for size because this was a quality that would win the people's acceptance of a divinely designated king (10:24), something that they did not want (8:5, 19–20; 10:27; Eslinger 1985:254–8, 356–8). God may not have been especially enamoured with Saul's

13 Of course the narrative says nothing about divine omniscience "in and of itself." It is solely concerned with the attributes of God as manifest in history, the arena of human activity. And that is an arena into which, so this narrative, not even God can enter without getting his hands dirty.

appearance, but he did make a Philistine choice for strategic reasons. God did see as a man sees, however momentarily. And he did choose as a man would choose. He was forced to by the elders' request and by his plan to subvert it. His involvement in human affairs and history forced him to see and choose as man sees.

1 Sam 15

The second point — God being far above man in discernment of character — is anticipated by similar reflections in chap. 15, where Samuel is the one to expostulate on the distinction between God's and man's ways.[14] Ch. 15 opens with a tale of Saul's disobedience. Somehow Saul has slipped out of the psychological conditioning that God had imposed on him in 10:9. How he did so is not explained and probably irrelevant; that he did so is apparent from his action and from the emotional response from God and Samuel (15:11).

> For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry. Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he hath also rejected thee from being king (15:23, KJV).[15]

In response to Saul's action, God tells Samuel, "I am sorry (*niḥamtî*) that I made Saul king" (15:11). Is it possible that God is simply using a common expression — "I repent" — so that Samuel will understand that he is now rejecting Saul? Does God really repent (*nḥm*), as he says he does? Is he so like man, so subject to error? Can we take him at his word? Not according to Samuel, who plays the Isaianic theme of supreme other–worldliness to Saul, when he pleads for clemency.

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14 M. Kessler (1970:546) has also noted the literary connections between 1 Sam 15 and 16.

15 There is no denial from Saul, who thereby accepts the charge.

> And also, the Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent: for he is not a man, that he should repent (15:29).
>
> For my thoughts are not yours and your ways are not mine, saying of the Lord. As heaven towers over earth, so are my ways to yours and my thoughts to yours (Isa 55:8–9).

Here, in proleptic anticipation of the Lord's reiteration of identical sentiments in his rebuke of Samuel, the reader hears this high sounding theological ontology in a context in which it contradicts the direct speech of God himself. God has said, 'I repent,' but Samuel says, 'God is not a man that he should repent.'[16] The incongruity is sharpened by the fact

16 T.E. Fretheim (1985:597) solves the contradiction between God and the narrator on the one hand, and Samuel on the other, by extracting Samuel's assertion from its existing literary context and interpreting it as a reference, not to God's adamant rejection of Saul, but to God's firm commitment to the house of David. "This statement, therefore, does not have general reference to God as one who never repents with regard to anything. Rather, it has reference to God's decision to give the kingdom to David" (pp. 597–8). Fretheim sees this as the hidden, redactional point of Samuel's message.

If Fretheim's reading has any plausibility from the point of view of literary history, it makes nonsense of the statement in the narrative as an utterance of Samuel to Saul. Neither character knows anything of David at this point, and Fretheim's cryptic reading probably wouldn't make any sense to them if they did. To accept Fretheim's reading is to reject the existing narrative. His solution of the contradiction requires a very specialized reading of Samuel's broad assertion about divine repentance, allowing a harmonization with God's and the narrator's assertions with which Samuel's assertion of the dogma is in explicit contradiction. McCarter (1980:268) makes a similar suggestion — extraction of Samuel's statement from its existing literary context — though he proposes only the simpler, more plausible conjecture that we have here a late redactional gloss intended to efface the previous suggestion that God might repent (cf. P. Dhorme 1910:136).

Dale Patrick makes a similar effort to retain a theologically conservative reading of the passage by suggesting that the contradiction is intentionally paradoxical, the result of a process of tradition in which older, unworthy conceptions of God were corrected not by excision, but by counterbalancing them with newer, more acceptable formulations (1981:54–5; cf. S. Sandmel, "The Haggada within Scripture," *JBL* 80 (1961) 121). The inconsistent views about God's repentance are harmonized using a historical hypothesis. In effect, Patrick's historical explanation transfers the consistency of scriptural characterization of

that God repents and Samuel denies that he does so over the same person and issue, Saul's disobedience. There is no quandary here for the reader. In the end, the narrator himself steps in to reiterate and reinforce the words of God. "... the Lord repented that he had made Saul king over Israel" (15:35). Samuel is willfully deceptive, however pi-

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God from the text to tradition, or to what tradition is thought to have believed. The question that is raised by Patrick's admitted (p. 52) *ad hoc* solutions to problematic passages such as 1 Sam 15, is whether modern theological concerns are compatible with literary studies of the ancient biblical text. Is the unchanging God the expression of the biblical characterization or of post-biblical systematics?

Le Clerc's suggestion (cited by S.R. Driver (1913:129) — "the narrative is expressed ἀνθρωποπαθῶς, the prophecy θεοπρεπῶς" — turns the narrative's perspectives upside down. It is Samuel's view that is human and erroneous; the narrator's [narrative's] voice describes narrative reality; the divine voice is, at least this time, in accord. Cf. Sternberg (1985:502), "To guide our expectation, we look to the lord of history and the master of narrative, rather than to any creature of theirs, however, eminent; and these two speak here with one voice." [I disagree, however, with Sternberg's wish to see continuous accord between narratorial and divine voices throughout biblical narrative.] For a summary of other views see H.J. Stoebe (1973:295 n. 36).

ously or misguidedly so.[17] God has just told Samuel that he does repent and he tells Saul, using the high-minded theological dictum of divine superiority, that God does no such thing. Only men are supposed to lie or repent. What does the narrative say through all of this? That men lie and God repents. The statement about God being so far beyond the ken of human psychology is, in this case, a lie. It casts a dark shadow of doubt over the trustworthiness of this and similar sounding doctrines about the unsearchability of God's ways. When we see God "from above," as we do from this narrative vantage, the platitudinous nature of such dogmas is revealed. Compared to the reality of the story world that the narrative describes, these weighty theological doctrines are pale projections of a human ignorance that prefers the concretized via negativa to an actual and apparent

17 Sternberg (1985:504–5) thinks that Samuel is less adamant towards Saul, having grieved and cried to Yahweh all night when the latter told him of his change of heart about Saul (15:11). And so, says Sternberg, his apparent orthodoxy here is softened for the reader who knows that Samuel's personal views are not necessarily reflected in the orthodox face he displays here to test Saul. But Sternberg's reading depends on reading Samuel's grief in 15:11 as sadness over God's decision and compassion for Saul. The verse itself is not that clear. Saul could be grieving, alongside Yahweh, over the poor choice that Saul has turned out to be, from their theocratic perspective. Such a reading is confirmed, as Sternberg's is not, by Samuel's harsh and deceptive dogmatism on the question of divine repentance and by his tirade on the requirement of unconditional obedience (vv 17–29). Fokkelman (1986:106) sees Samuel's dogmatism as a facade necessarily addressed to Saul's psychological state, which requires firm opposition in order to elicit real contrition. On the larger level of the narrative and the religious truths it embodies, Fokkelman finds Samuel's assertions falsified and wrong: "This picture of an immutable God is rigid and one almost shudders at the realization that any possible compunction by the deity is a priori disqualified as being a "lie". This static monumentality regarding God also creates an unbridgeable gap between the deity and the mortal,, which will be found in many false faiths, for anyone propagating such a picture of God does so out of a deep need" (1986:107).

K. Budde has a radical solution: strike Samuel's comment from the text as a secondary addition that wrongly tries to diminish the force of God's admission (v 11) by adding a riding clause (1902:112; cf. Hertzberg 1964:128–9; P.K. McCarter 1980:268).

possibility that God, in whose image we were made, might behave with as much changeability as man when he acts in concert with man in human history.[18]

1 Sam 16 Again

For the reader educated by Samuel's assertions in chap. 15, there is a resounding hollowness to God's rebuke of Samuel for even thinking that Eliab could be God's choice. God did choose Saul for his looks rather than his heart, even if the choice was dictated by strategic needs. We know, from ch 15 that God is not so strange to human psychology as the dogma purports. He may not be of it, but he dirtied his hands in it when he chose Saul. And so for the reader there is dramatic irony in God's rebuke of Samuel, though the irony comes more at the expense of Samuel than God. Samuel is stung with the same false barb with which he pricked Saul. The assertion that forms the shaft of this dart holds as little truth (in the context of this narrative and the events with which God and Samuel concern themselves) as Samuel's assertion that God does not repent. Whatever his motives, God did choose Saul for his appearance, as a man would. Both chaps. 9–10 and 15 show that he has not always distanced himself from human perspectives in the manner that he claims here. The narrative analogy between these this reference to the theological dogma and that of chap. 15 clinches the reading that finds God engaged in misrepresenting the basis of his choices of anointees, past

18 This, essentially, is the point made by Peter Craigie in one of his articles on the "problem of war" in the Old Testament. "The fact that God acts in this world, and in the case in point that He acted in the wars of conquest, does not tell us about the absolutes of God's character, but rather it tells us about His nature as being one who meets with men where they are" (1969:187–8). David Gunn puts it more strongly: "In the story of Saul, as in that of Job, we are at some distance from the God of the ethical absolutes: God can pour out his favour upon Israel, upon David, and even upon Saul; but he can also be unpredictably terrible, jealous of his own status, quick to anger and impatient of the complexities of human action and motivation" (1980:131).

and probably present too.[19] As Samuel buffaloes Saul (15:29), so God buffaloes Samuel (16:7).[20] Will the circle revolve again, so that God is put in the narrative place where Saul and Samuel have stood before?

The final irony in this business of replacing Saul and the criteria for evaluating potential replacements comes in 16:12 with the description of God's selection for king. Were God's rhetoric in 16:7 in accord with the views of the narrator, the reader might get a lengthy or at least an explicit description of David's heart, and how it meets with divine approval. Instead, the narrator provides an extensive — extensive in the scales of the Bible's narrative economy — description of David's handsome physical appearance. The narrator, using the force of his own authority to underline the factuality of the description of David's appearance, presents the reader with a sequence of three adjectival descriptions of David's handsomeness, culminating with the expression that he was "good to look at" (*ṭôb rŏ'î*).[21]

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19 The fact that the narrative presents God denying that size was a factor in the choice of Saul, even though it was, is not presented as a criticism of God in the narrative. Instead, it is presented as a fact: this is what God did. Appropriate or otherwise, his motives are not discussed or revealed here, though their appropriateness as means to an end might be demonstrable in the larger context of the prehistory, patriarchal cycles, and the exodus narrative. The narrator of the Dtr narratives is far less concerned with approbation or disapproval, whether of divine or human characters, than he is generally thought to be.

What is revealed most clearly is the entrance for misunderstanding.created by the divine secretiveness. God shares neither his knowledge nor his motives even with his trusted servant Samuel, far less with the general Israelite or human populace. Such incongruities between the divine and human understandings of events are focal points throughout this narrative. They form the crux of many of the problems that are analyzed in the narrative description.

20 Kessler's homiletic suggestions that the narrative is showing that even a great prophet like Samuel was only human and in need of occasional remonstrance misses the point entirely. Kessler ignores narratorial perspective in favour of his own biblical theological perspective.

21 Fokkelman (1986:131) sees an amelioration of the irony that I find in the narrative. He suggests that Samuel alone perceives David's

Once again the Leitwort "to see" (*r'h*) (cf. 16:7; 10:24) comes into play.[22] Here it highlights the fact that, after all, God's choice of anointee is another good-looking man. Compared to Eliab, about whose appearance the reader has seen only implication, David is handsome beyond compare. Of his heart, supposedly so central to the choice, the reader hears nothing at all. This selectivity of description, along with the profuse descriptors of physical appearance marks the narrator's forceful efforts to highlight the incongruity between what God has said and what he has done. God said, 'don't judge according to appearance' (*mar'ēhû*, v 7) and then he picks David, who is good to look at (*rō'î*). Immediately after the description of David's appearance, and hard on the heels of the root *r'h*, the narrator reports the

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handsome appearance. But there is no indication, in v 12, that the description of David's appearance belongs to any other than the narrator. There are no distinctive linguistic qualities in the description that suggest or allow the reader to think that this is Samuel's view expressed through the voice of the narrator. Nor are there any transferrals by means of perceptual verbs such as 'he saw that ...,' to indicate that the observations belong to Samuel, and so are relative and subjective.

M. Bal (1985:100–18) describes some of the devices that can be used to distinguish case of character perceptions voiced by the narrator or some other character. As she points out, the situation is similar to the phenomenon of "free indirect" speech, in which a narrator will present the thoughts or speech of a character without formally indicating that they belong to the character and not him or herself. Yet such untagged quotations are always distinguishable on the basis of identifiable idiosyncrasies that mark the perceptions as those of the character, not the narrator.

Whether or not the perceptions of v 12 are those of Samuel, the irony remains. The fact that the narrator has chosen to highlight a description of David's attractive appearance while totally ignoring the state of his heart draws the reader's attention to the omission of any explicit "psychological testing." No matter who sees that David is "good looking" (*ṭôb rō'î*), the fact remains that God has chosen someone whose only perceived quality, like Saul's in 9:2, is his attractive appearance. The irony could not be stronger.

22 See Fokkelman (1986:114) and Kessler (1970:549) on the significance of the repetition of the root *r'h* here. Fokkelman notes that the word occurs seven times in this scene.

Lord's instruction to Samuel. "Arise, anoint him, for this is him."

The conjunction is stark (cf. Stoebe 1973:304).[23] With it the narrator has created the same pattern of divine action, denial of divine action, and narratorial confirmation of divine action as he used in chap. 15. The series begins with God having made statuesque Saul king; then Samuel is rebuked for thinking that God, like man, would choose for appearance; and finally, the narrator concludes the series by highlighting the consequently incongruous choice of the Michaelo–angelic David as the replacement for Saul.

David's heart is not mentioned again until 17:28. There Eliab says that David is proud and has a naughty heart (*rōa' lĕbābekā*). Though Eliab's opinion is that of an involved character caught in the ubiquitous web of the elder/younger son motif (cf. Fokkelman 1986:129), the aspersion seems to fit the role that David plays here, following as he does in the footsteps of Joseph in Egypt. As the many perceptive studies of the story of David have recently shown, David will continue throughout his career to act out of a heart that seems very black indeed (e.g. 2 Sam 11; 1 Kgs 1).[24]

Though it cannot be a concern here, when our focus is on the reader's understanding of events and statements in 1 Sam 16, it would seem that if the Lord has chosen David for his heart then he has selected for a normal error prone human being, not a pious, upstanding Yahwist.[25] As in the case of Saul, it may be that God is constrained by his human partners in the covenant to choose a king who, though not necessarily successful in immediate terms, will play the part in the divine scheme that God requires of him even if that

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23 LXX adds a further item to the description — that David was "pleasing to the Lord" (*kai 'agathos 'orasei kuriō* — a fine example of a pious reader response to an incongruity that the narrative sequence forces on the reader.

24 See, for example, D. Gunn (1978; 1980:77–8); M. Perry, M. Sternberg (1968–69); D. Marcus (1986).

25 The same is true in the elevation of Solomon in 1 K 3–11.

part would be judged a failure in the short term. Be that as it may, it is quite certain after the anointing episode of 1 Sam 16 that God is not above selecting his chosen king on the basis of very human criteria, whatever his motives.

And so, the future course of covenant history bears within it the weakness that attends all actions that depend on human decisions and valuations. Misinformation from God to his prophet, past divine actions and choice tainted by the foibles of human valuation (cf. Gunn 1980:115–16), and the continuation of these into the future — these are the problems that the narrator describes in 1 Sam 16 and it is these problems and others like them that are central to the Deuteronomistic narrative's explanation of Israel's predestined doom as a nation. Human sinfulness, individual, corporate or monarchic, is only a small cogwheel in the mechanism that moves this narrative towards its dark conclusion. For the powerful undriven driving engine itself, the narrative invites us to look a little higher.

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PURSUIT OF THE INSCRUTABLE: A LITERARY ANALYSIS OF PSALM 23[1]

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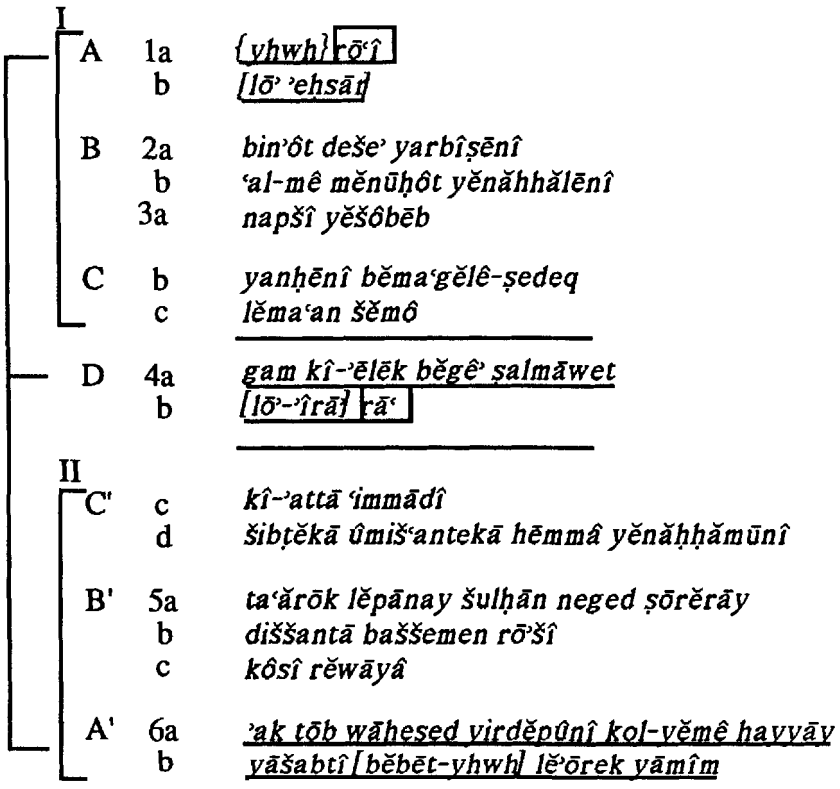
In a recent exposition of Ps 23, Walter Brueggemann writes, "It is almost pretentious to comment on this psalm.... It is such a simple statement that it can bear its own witness without comment."[2] Not withstanding Brueggemann's assertion, Ps 23 is enigmatic. Despite its brevity, and lack of textual and linguistic difficulties, the poem has proven resistant to detailed analysis and interpretation. It defies, for example, satisfactory categorization with respect to genre and *Sitz im Leben*.[3] It has been classified as a thanksgiving song expressing gratitude for deliverance from difficulty,[4] perhaps uttered by one who has sought and obtained sanctuary in the temple.[5] Some commentators regard it as a royal psalm reflecting Jerusalemite ritual.[6] Others see in Ps 23 the reworking of themes and motifs derived from the Pentateuch, such as those associated with the Exodus tradition,[7] or with the Jacob cycle.[8] While there is some agreement that the poem is composed of two strophes, one presenting the Lord as "shepherd" (vv 1–4), and the other depicting the Lord as "host" (vv 5–6)[9], this consensus is far from firm.[10] Even Ps 23's status as poetry is ambiguous.[11]

As P.C. Craigie noted in his commentary on Psalms 1–50, the problems of interpretation lie in the difficulty of defining the text's structure and in the non–explicit nature of the language employed.[12] This paper, the first of two studies on Ps 23, addresses the question of the poem's structure. The second paper will explicate the poem's "non–explicit" language and imagery. The following pages are humbly submitted to the memory of Peter Craigie, a revered

teacher and cherished friend, whose tragic death cut short a remarkable career dedicated to the elucidation and teaching of Biblical and Ugaritic literature in general and poetry in particular.

The approach taken here focuses on the structural and linguistic features of the text, utilizing grammatical and phonetic patterns, meter, parallelism, and such rhetorical features as chiasmus, *inclusio*, and the position of emphatic particles to illuminate the structure of Ps 23. While an analysis of the text's formal features does not of itself generate an interpretation, such a study does indicate how the poem's components interact to produce "meaning."[13] The sensitive reader "feels instinctively," or perhaps perceives directly, the effect of this dynamic interplay, and thereby the "significance" of the text.[14] Thus, a careful analysis of the organizational principles and the patterns of interaction at work in the poem is the logical prerequisite for any discussion of the poem's significance.[15]

The following diagram summarizes the salient features of the text. With the exception of reading the verb *yšbty* rather than *wšbty* in v 6, the Masoretic Text is followed throughout, both consonants and vowels.[16] While the MT does not preserve the original pronunciation and meter, reconstructions of the ancient vocalization such as those of Freedman remain sufficiently hypothetical as to warrant caution.[17] In the following analysis, the superscription is not included as part of the poem.


I
A 1a {yhwh} rō'î
b [lō' 'ehsār]
B 2a bin'ôt deše' yarbîṣēnî
b 'al-mê mĕnūḥôt yĕnăhhălēnî
3a napšî yĕšôbēb
C b yanḥēnî bĕma'gĕlê-ṣedeq
c lĕma'an šĕmô
D 4a gam kî-'ēlēk bĕgê' ṣalmāwet
b [lō'-'îrā'] rā'
II
C' c kî-'attā 'immādî
d šibṭĕkā ûmiš'antekā hēmmâ yĕnăḥḥămūnî
B' 5a ta'ărōk lĕpānay šulḥān neged ṣōrĕrāy
b diššantā baššemen rō'šî
c kôsî rĕwāyâ
A' 6a 'ak ṭôb wāḥeseḏ yirdĕpûnî kol-yĕmê ḥayyāy
b yāšabtî [bĕbēt-yhwh] lĕ'ōrek yāmîm

Ps 23 is a carefully structured poem composed of two major sections of seven lines, three strophes each, concentrically arranged around a pivotal couplet, v 4a–b: *gam kî-'ēlēk bĕqê' ṣalmāwet / lō'-îrā' rā'*. The psalm's concentric structure is realized through a combination of stylistic, syntactic, and semantic features. The outer limits of the chiasm are defined by the occurrence of the divine name *yhwh* in the initial and final lines of the psalm. As noted by several commentators, a divine name occurs nowhere else in the text.[18] This *inclusio* is reinforced by the alliterative pattern involving *l' 'ḥsr* and *l'rk* in proximity to

yhwh, and by the first singular verb forms *'ḥsr* (v 1) and *yšbty* (v 6).

1a *yhwh rō'î*
b *lō' 'eḥsār*
6a *'ak ṭôb wāḥesed yirdĕpûnî kol-yĕmê ḥayyāy*
b *yāšabtî bĕbêt-yhwh lĕ'ōrek yāmîm*

Note that *l' 'ḥsr* contrasts with *'k ṭwb whsd ... kl-ymy ḥyy* in that the former expresses a positive situation using a negative construction in the first person singular, while the latter depicts beneficial activity in a grammatically affirmative sentence employing a third person plural verb form.[19] It is significant that apart from vv 1b and 6a, the only other occurrence of 1 sing. verb forms is found in v 4a–b, the central bicolon of the poem. The frame and central couplet form the skeleton around which Ps 23 is constructed.[20]

The initial section of Ps 23 is itself concentrically structured. It is composed of three stanzas: an introductory bicolon (v 1); a tricolon which bears the weight of the section's imagery (vv 2–3a); and a concluding bicolon (v 3b–c). Part I presents to the audience a series of positive assertions concerning the benefits derived from the speaker's relationship to God, who is the grammatical subject in all but v 1b.[21]

Stanza A (v 1) is striking by virtue of its brevity. It is composed of two independent clauses,[22] each containing two word stresses, with the 4 and 3 syllables respectively.

yhwh rō'î	a b	2/4
lō' 'eḥsār	c d	2/3

Though lacking syntactic or semantic parallelism, the cola are complementary and balanced. The initial noun sentence with a 3 sing. subject (*yhwh r'y*) is juxtaposed with the negative 1 sing. verbal clause (*l' 'ḥsr*). The change in the narrator's point of view from third to first person foreshadows the God/speaker and subject/object polarities

found throughout the psalm. Grammatical structure combines with line length to impart to the bicolon an emphatic quality, arresting the attention of the reader. The terse clauses indicate to an unspecified audience the *persona's* relationship to God ("The Lord is my shepherd") and the implication or impact of that relationship ("I shall not want").

The poem's third colon (v 2a) effects an abrupt shift in both style and atmosphere. Without being named, God appears as an active rather than stative subject in the verb *yrbyṣny*. The *persona* assumes the position of object. Coincidentally, the line-length increases markedly, thereby slowing the pace of the narration. Thus the intensity of the initial bicolon is replaced by a reflective tranquility as the text moves away from presenting the speaker as subject. Nevertheless, parallelism, syntactic structure and cola length combine in Stanza B (vv 2–3a) to produce a sense of climax, foregrounding the final colon:

bin'ôt dešeʾ yarbîṣēnî	Ph +	[V + DO]
	a b 3/8	
ʿal-me mĕnūḥôt yĕnahălēnî	Ph +	[V + DO]
	a b 3/10	
napšî yĕšôbēb	DO + V	c b 2/5

The second strophe is characterized syntactically by an initial prepositional adverbial phrase (Ph) followed by a *yqtl* 3 m. sing. verb (V) with 1 sing. suffix as object (DO). In all three cola, the predicate is in the final position, preceded in the initial two lines by an adverbial phrase. The third line diverges in that it has a substantive with the 1 sing. possessive suffix as direct object and lacks an adverbial phrase. Also it is shorter than the preceding lines. Thus it stands out as the culmination of the stanza.

The word order of colon 1, Stanza C (v 3b–c), with the verb + the 1 sing. object suffix in the initial position, followed by an adverbial phrase, is the inverse of the pattern dominant in the preceding strophe. Compare v 2a–b with v 3b:[23]

bin'ôt dešeʾ yarbîṣēnî	prep + 1 s. sfx.	+	NPh	+	Hiph yqtl	+
ʿal-mê menūḥôt yĕnahhălēnî	prep + 1 s sfx.	+	NPh	+	Piel yqtl	+

yanḥēnî bĕmaʿgĕlê-ṣedeq Hith yqtl + 1 s. sfx. + prep + NPh

Thus Stanzas B and C are related syntactically, while simultaneously being differentiated by the inversion of the syntactic pattern, by stanza length, and by parallelism. Although Stanza C is shorter than the previous one (a bicolon as opposed to a tricolon), a similar movement towards climax is maintained by the alternation of long and short lines:

yanḥēnî bĕmaʿgĕlê-ṣedeq	[V + DO] +	Ph	a b	2/9
lĕmaʿan šĕmô		Ph	c d	2/5

Verse 3b–c both continues and summarizes the preceding tricolon's depiction of God's providential bounty and provides a brief climactic or emphatic explanation for this beneficence ("for the sake of His name").[24]

Apart from the features cited above, there are several notable factors which contribute to the unity of Part I. Every verb in vv 1–3 is a *yqtl* form, and all but one are 3 m. sing. This gives rise to a common alliterative pattern: *ya/yĕ* ... in vv 2a, b; 3a, b. Moreover, the proclivity to employ the 1 sing. verbal suffix as direct object results in three of the *yqtl* verbs ending in ... *ēnî*.[25] Alliteration is not restricted to verbal prefixes and suffixes. Note the sound ...*ôt* in *bnʾwt* and *mnḥwt* in v 2 and */nḥ/* in *mnḥwt* (v 2b and *ynḥny* (v 3b).

Part II (vv 4c–6) parallels inversely the structure and content of its counterpart. Characterized by the second person address to God, it begins in Stanza C' (v 4c–d) with a bicolon explaining why the circumstances of both vv 5–6 hold.[26] This naturally leads to a second description of divinely bestowed plentitude in the tricolon of Stanza B' (v 5). The poem concludes with a final bicolon recapitulating the speaker's relationship to God and its effects. Part II is not as tightly constructed as vv 1–3.

Stanza C' (v 4c–d) is a bicolon in which, contrary to normal verse structure, the A line is short (2/6) and the B line long (4/15).[27] The initial colon is introduced by the emphatic particle *ky*[28] and, as is the case in the first colon of Part I, is a noun clause. Moreover, the couplet contains the only independent personal pronouns (*'th, hmh*) found in the poem, one in each colon.[29] There is a significant shift in both subject and addressee in v 4c–d. As previously noted, in vv 1–3, God is the subject in all but v 1b (*l' 'ḥsr*) and the direct recipient of the communication is the audience or reader. The addressee remains the same in v 4a–b, while the *persona* once again becomes the grammatical subject. In v 4c, however, God (*'th*) is both the subject and the addressee. The 3 m. pl. pronoun *hmh*, standing for the "rod" and "staff," is the grammatical subject of v 4d , with God as the direct recipient of the communication. But by virtue of the 2 m. sing. possessive suffixes of *šbṭk wmš'ntk*, God remains the indirect actant, i.e. a secondary cause. These features attract the reader's attention and impart to the unit an emphatic quality similar to, though not as intense as, that of v 1.

Stanza C' is a carefully balanced inversion of its counterpart in Part I:

C	3b	*yanḥēnî bĕmaʿgĕlê-ṣedeq*	a b	2/9
	c	*lĕmaʿan šĕmô*	c d	2/5
C'	4c	*kî-'attâ 'immādî*	a b	2/6
	d	*šibṭĕkā ûmišʿantĕkā hēmmâ*		
		[yĕnaḥămūnî [a]	a c	4/15

Stanza C concludes with a short line (2/5) introduced by a conjunction followed by a noun referring to God. Unit C' is introduced by a similarly short line (2/6) in which the initial words are a conjunction and an independent personal pronoun denoting the deity. Phonetically, both lines combine /*m*/ and /*ʕ*/ in prominent words, albeit in different ways: *lmʿn* (v 3c) and *ʿmdy* (v 4c).[30] In Stanza C, the concluding short colon is preceded by a long line, while in Stanza C' the introductory short line is followed by a longer

one. Note also the syntactic and phonetic parallelism involving *ynḥny* (*Hith. yqtl* 3 m. sing. + 1 sing. sfx.) in v 3b and *ynḥmny* (*Piel yqtl* 3 c. pl. + 1 sing. sfx.) in 4d.[31] The verbs, coming at the beginning and end of their respective bicola, combine with the general verse structure to form a chiasm.

The shift from the third plural verb at the end of v 4d to a second singular verb in the initial position in v 5a separates Stanzas C' and B' (v 5). Like its complement in the initial section, Stanza B' is a tricolon composed of two long and one short cola. The dominant syntactic pattern is verb + adverbial phrase + object, the inverse of Stanza B. It shares with the latter the pattern of climactic parallelism, with the final colon breaking the pattern of synonymity:

ta'ărōk lĕpānay šulḥān neged ṣōrĕrāy	a b c d	5/13
dišŠantā baššemen rō'šî	a b c	3/8
kôsî rĕwāyâ	c e	2/5

Both v 5a and b exhibit syntactic as well as semantic parallelism, employing the pattern verb + prepositional adverbial phrase + noun (as direct object). Words denoting parts of the "body" (*pny* and *r'š*) and "banquet" (*šlḥn* and *šmn*) form an interesting chiasm around *ngd ṣrry*.

trk lpny šlḥn
ngd ṣrry
dšnt bšmn r'šy[32]

As an extra element in colon (a), *ngd ṣrry* serves double duty, qualifying cola (a) and (b) directly, and implicitly colon (c) as well. The tricolon's phonetic quality is coloured by /r/, /n/, /š/, /ṣ/, /s/, and /y/. The tendency to end cola and individual words with /y/ creates an interesting rhyming effect, which the stanza shares with the poem at large. The first two cola end with the phoneme /y/, which occurs in the penultimate position in the third colon (*rwyh*). Of the ten words in the unit, four conclude with /y/. A similar distribution is evident in Stanza B, in which the first two cola and four individual words also end in /y/. The colon *kwsy*

rwyh echoes *npšy yšwbb* in Stanza B. Both cola follow two longer lines ending in /y/, both have initial words ending in /y/, and both have two word stresses with five syllables. Verse 5 also is linked to Stanza B by the frequent occurrence of /š/ in both tricola: *dš'*, *npšy*, and *yšwbb* in Unit B, and *šlḥn*, *dšnt*, *bšmn*, and *r'šy* in Unit B'.[33]

Stanza B' reintroduces the extravagant imagery of well–being and plenty of Part I. Whereas Stanza B utilizes natural or "pastoral" language, B' employs what may be considered as the urban imagery of the temple or palace banquet. The *n'wt dš'* and *my mnḥwt* are complemented by the *šlḥn* and *šmn*. The revival of "soul" is echoed in the "table" and the full "cup" set for the speaker in the presence of the "foes."[34]

The poem's concluding bicolon (v 6) is composed of two comparatively long lines:

'ak ṭôb wāḥesed yirdĕpûnî kol-yĕmê ḥayyāy	a b c	6/14
yāšabtî bĕbêt-yhwh lĕ'ōrek yāmîm	b d c	4/12

Though the parallel structure is not pronounced, there is a form of balanced inversion in the juxtaposition of *ṭwb wḥsd* + *yrdpwny* in line A and *yšbty* + *bbyt-yhwh* in line B.[35] Both cola conclude with synonymous adverbial phrases. The bicolon is distinct from the preceding lines by virtue of the shift from the second singular divine subject. The first line has a third plural subject with a first person object. The noun phrase "goodness and kindness" is analogous to "your rod and your staff" in v 4d and might allow the reader to regard God as a secondary cause, or in effect, as an indirect subject. But unlike Stanza C', with its 2 m. sing. possessive suffixes, there is nothing to indicate clearly the addressee. In lines addressed to God, the poem does not employ the speaker as grammatical subject. Therefore v 6a may be addressed to the deity. In v 6b the first singular subject reappears in the verb *yšbty*, indicating that in this colon the reader rather than the deity is the recipient of the communication. Thus a degree of ambiguity remains as to the addressee in v 6a.

The various devices utilized to unify Part I are not as much in evidence in vv 4c–6. Despite the frequent occurrence of the phoneme /*y*/, patterns of alliteration are not as prominent. Moreover, the poem's second section lacks the homogeneity of verb forms which characterizes vv 1–3. Similarly, the intricately constructed and balanced syntactic patterns so extensive in Stanzas A–C are missing. In many respects the individual strophes of Part II relate more closely to their complementary stanzas in the first section than they do to each other. This is hardly surprising, given the concentric structure of the poem. One feature, however, that does provide a consistent tone to Part II is the second person address to God. Not only does this point of view unify particularly Stanzas C' and B', but it serves to distinguish Part II from Part I. Yet in both units, God remains the dominant grammatical subject, with the *persona* assuming the position of object.

Verse 4a–b forms the centre around which Ps 23 turns. Stanza D is a bicolon composed of a long and a short line:

gam kî-ʾēlēk bĕgê ṣalmāwet[36]	a b c	4/9
lō-ʾîrāʾ rāʿ	b c	2/4

Line length and climactic parallelism serve to foreground the strophe. It is unique in that as it is the only unit in the poem in which the *persona* is the grammatical subject throughout. The poem's concentric structure, with its balanced arrangement of stanzas and verses, reinforced by the alternation between the first person singular subject and the divine subject, in either the third or second person, places v 4a–b in a marked or emphatic position. The bicolon's first person singular verbs (*ʾlk* and *ʾyr*) echo the initial (*ʾḥsr*) and concluding (*yšbty*) bicola of the poem. Stanza D, framed by cola in which the subject is not the *persona* but God, is further singled out by line length. The cola immediately preceding and following are both short, while those twice removed are both long. Note also the framing alliterative and syntactic patterns realized through the verbs *ynḥny* (v 3b) / *ynḥmny* (v 4d) and the particles *lmʿn* (v 3c) / *ʿmdy* (v 4c). The structure of the poem is designed to focus the

reader's attention on vv 4a–b. Thus the negative connotations of *gy' ṣlmwt, r'* and *l' 'yr'* are given special prominence in the poem.

As the pivotal element of the poem, Stanza D interacts with the surrounding stanzas on a variety of different levels. Particularly striking is the relationship between Stanzas A and D. Note repetition of /'/, /'/, /l/, /r/, together with the long vowels /ā/, /î/ and /ō/. These are the phonemic elements of the alliterative parallels *rā' // rō'î* and *lō' -'îrā' // lō' 'eḥsār*.[37]

These alliterative patterns coincide with syntactic and semantic parallels which underline significant correlations within the poem. Stanzas A and D echo each other in that each bicolon is composed of a grammatically positive statement complimented by a negative one. Both verb phrases *l' 'ḥsr* (v 1b) and *l'-'yr'* (v 4b) contain the negative particle *l'* followed by a Qal imperfect, 1 c. sing. verb. The substantives *r'y* (v 1a) and *r'* (v 4b) are marked elements in the predicates of their respective clauses.[38]

The cumulative effect of these structural relationships not only foregrounds Stanza D, but emphatically juxtaposes it with Stanza A. The juxtaposition in turn gives rise to tension involving the positive and negative imagery within each strophe. This tension is carried throughout the poem by widening circles of alliterative, syntactic, and semantic relationships which radiate outward from Stanza D.

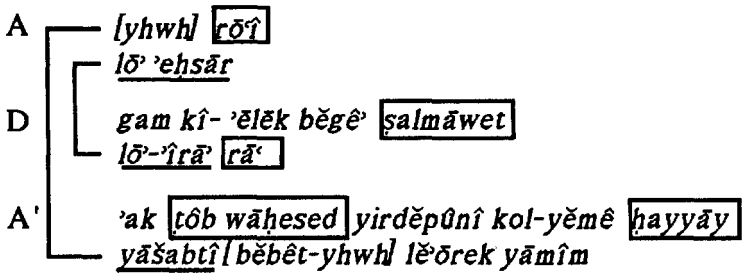
Alliterative echos of *lō' - 'îrā' rā'* are found in the phrase *lĕ'ōrek yāmîm* in the poem's concluding line, and in *ṣôrĕrāy* (v 5a). The occurrence of *ky* in vv 4a, 4c established both alliterative and semantic contact between Stanzas D and C'. Note also the linking of *bm'gly-ṣdq* (Stanza C, v 3b), *bgy' ṣlmwt* (Stanza D, v 4a), and *ngd ṣrry* (Stanza B', v 5a) through the repetition of /b/, /g/, and /ṣ/.[39] Here also, patterns of semantic and syntactic relationships coincide with alliteration. This type of formal interaction is a striking aspect of the clauses *ynḥny bm'gly-ṣdq* (Stanza C, v 3b), *'lk*

bgy' ṣlmwt (Stanza D, v 4a), and *yšbty bbyt-yhwh* (Stanza A', v 6b).[40] Each is composed of a verb, followed by the preposition *b* + a noun phrase denoting a geographic locale, natural or symbolic. The verbs themselves present an interesting pattern. The first two verbs are imperfect forms, but differ from each other in that the first is a 3 m. sing. form while the second is a 1 c. sing. form. The second and third are both 1 c. sing. forms, but *'lk* is imperfect while *yšbty* is perfect. Thus the following pattern:

	Tense	*Number*
v 3b	*yqtl*	3 m. sing.
v 4a	*yqtl*	1 c. sing.
v 6b	*qtl*	1 c. sing.

The verb of v 4a shares features with those of v 3b, 6b , thereby furthering the bond between clauses which have very different orientations.

The dynamic interplay of Ps 23's formal components presents to the reader a series of binary oppositions and equivalences which embody the negative/positive tension arising from the central, marked position of Stanza D. The fundamental opposition is enunciated most clearly and emphatically in the interaction of the framing and pivotal stanzas.



In these stanzas, complex patterns of alliterative, syntactic, and semantic relationships create a series of carefully balanced contrasts and equivalences. In A and D, *r'h* is

asserted and reinforced by a negative verbal construction in v 1a–b, while *rʿ*, the object in a negative clause, is negated in v 4b. Thus is generated the opposition *rʿh* /*rʿ*. Syntax equates *yhwh* and *rʿh*, while verse structure establishes equivalence between *rʿ* and *gyʾ ṣlmwt*. The the reader is confronted by the classic opposition between well–being and evil, poetically represented by *yhwh*/*rʿy* and *gyʾ ṣlmwt*/*rʿ*. These binary relationships are echoed in the final stanza by *ṯwb whṣd*, semantic opposites of *rʿ*, by *ḫyy*, which contrasts with the *mwt* element in the compound *ṣlmwt*, and by *bbyt-yhwh*, which stands in opposition to *bgyʾ ṣlmwt*.[41] Simultaneously, these elements of contrast are also components of equivalence.[42] The clause *ṯwb whṣd yrdpny* corresponds metaphorically to *lʾ ʾḥṣr* (v 1b), while *yšbty bbyt-yhwh* has implications similar to those of the sentence *yhwh rʿy* (v 1a).

These oppositions and equivalences are woven throughout the poem so that all aspects are coloured by them. Phonetic, syntactic and semantic similarities foreground the phrases *bgyʾ ṣlmwt* (v 4a) and *bmʿgly-ṣdq* (v 3b), with one clearly the foil of the other. The locales signify the same binary opposition as *rʿy*/*rʿ*. This spatial contrast extends to the positively oriented phrases *bnʾwt dšʾ* (v 2a) and *bbyt-yhwh* (v 6b), which stand with *bmʿgly-ṣdq* (v 3b) in opposition to the negative *bgyʾ ṣlmwt* of v 4a.

In v 5, *ngd ṣrry* (v 5a) is singled out by the chiasm in v 5a–b. The enemy remains neutralized while the *persona* is feasted by God. This condition of the enemy mirrors inversely the revival of the speaker's "soul" in Stanza B. The nouns *npšy* and *ṣrry* are linked to each other by their marked positions, sibilants, and final /*y*/.[43] The noun *ṣrry*, related to vv 4a–b by alliteration and by semantic similarity, shares the same symbolic value as the *gyʾ ṣlmwt* and *rʿ*. Thus the binary opposition *npšy*/*ṣrry* is equivalent to *rʿy*/*rʿ*. The positive orientation of Stanza B', together with the revival of the contrasting *npš* in Stanza B, might be

perceived as mitigating the threat of the *ṣrrym*. Nevertheless this equivalence of *ṣrry* with *gy' ṣlmwt* and *r'*, which by virtue of structure are a focal point of interest, is sufficient to maintain the sense of tension between the positive and negative poles.

These different combinations of polarity and equivalence partake of the binary opposition fundamental to Ps 23, the tension between what is positive and that which is negative, between "good" and "evil," or "well–being" and "lack" thereof. There is another, related pattern of binary opposition at work in the psalm. Ps 23 exhibits variation in the discursive point of view through grammatical subject/object polarity involving God and the *persona*. A similar opposition involving God and the audience/reader is to be found in the category of "addressee."

With the exception of the 1 sing. subject in the initial, pivotal, and concluding bicola of the poem, the text's two major parts are dominated by the divine subject in the third and second person respectively. Part I is addressed to an unspecified audience inclusive of the reader, and describes in third person narration the activity of God which is directed towards the speaker, the grammatical object. Part II, with the exception of the concluding frame (v 6), is addressed by the speaker to God in the second person, with the audience–reader as an indirect addressee.[44] Again, the *persona* is the object. V 6a could be addressed either to God or to the audience; v 6b is directed towards the audience. Thus through variation in the narrative orientation, the poem establishes oppositions involving the grammatical categories of subject/object and the communication category of addressee.[45] The subject/object polarity contrasts God and the *persona*. As the recipients of the speaker's message, God and the audience–reader form a binary opposition.

This combination of polarities gives rise to yet another level of binary relations, the opposition active/passive. Stanza A juxtaposes intransitive sentences containing both divine and human subjects. Both cola are stative, depicting a

relationship and the consequential condition. In Stanza A' the first colon employs divine surrogates or hypostases as subjects of an active verb, with the speaker as object. The *persona* is passive. In the second colon, the speaker becomes the subject, but the verb *yšb* reflects more a state or condition than it does activity. Stanza D differs in that the *persona* is the subject in both clauses. But only in the first (v 4a) is the speaker active. As is the case with vv 1b and 6b, v 4b describes a condition or state. Of all the clauses in which the speaker is subject, only in the one depicting passage through the *gy' ṣlmwt* is he truly active. In contrast, Stanzas B, C, C', and B' each present God, or His agents in the case of v 4c (and v 6a), as the active subject and the *persona* as the grammatical object, the recipient of well–being. Thus the poles active/passive and God/speaker combine with the binary opposition good/evil. When the deity is active and the *persona* passive, well–being is predominant. When the speaker is the active subject, the poem foregrounds the negative aspect of the good/evil polarity. Thus Ps 23 subtly evokes a positive response to passivity.

The contrasting positions of God and the audience–reader as the recipients of the speaker's communication reinforce the feeling of passivity. The polarity God/audience–reader places the reader in a position analogous to that of the *persona* in the opposition God/speaker. By implication, the reader should adopt the speaker's position with respect to the active/passive polarity. That is, the reader is encouraged to identify with the role of the passive recipient.

This analysis of Ps 23 indicates that the poem is structured to accentuate and to explore the tension inherent in the binary opposition involving the speaker's interaction with *Yhwh* the "Shepherd" and the "evil" of the *gy' ṣlmwt*. The various facets of this polarity permeate the poem, giving it a quality quite different from that of the beautifully simple song of confidence which most commentators deem it to be.

Notes

[1] A version of this paper was presented to the International Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature , 20 August 1986, in Jerusalem. I wish to thank L'école biblique for the use of its library during the preparation of the paper. I also am grateful to Professor J.P. Fokkelman for his helpful suggestions.

[2] W. Brueggemann, *The Message of the Psalms: a Theological Commentary* (Augsburg Old Testament Studies; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984) 154. Many scholars follow Gunkel in regarding Ps 23 as a psalm of confidence. See, for example, S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, II (New York: Abingdon Press, 1967) 41, 127.

[3] Mowinckel, *Psalms in Israel's Worship*, II, 127.

[4] E. Vogt, "The 'Place in Life' of Ps 23," *Bib* 34 (1953) 195-211.

[5] W. Schottroff, "Le Psaume 23: de la méthode d'une interprétation socio-historique de la Bible," in W. Schottroff and W. Stegemann, eds., *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 7 (1981), Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, Vol. 44 (Paris: Annales Litteraires de l'Université de Besançon, 1982) 129-161.

[6] A.L. Merrill, "Ps 23 and the Jerusalem Tradition," *VT* 15 (1965) 354-360; J.H. Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms* (SBT, Second Series 32; London: SCM Press, 1976) 36-38.

[7] P. Milne, "Psalm 23: Echoes of the Exodus," *SR* 4 (1974/75) 237-247; D.N. Freedman, "The Twenty-Third Psalm," *Michigan Oriental Studies in Honor of George G. Cameron* (ed. L.L. Orlin, et al.; Ann Arbor: Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan, 1976) 139-166 [cited elsewhere in this paper as it appears in D.N. Freedman, *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980)]; M.L. Barré and J.S. Kselman, "New Exodus, Covenant, and Restoration in Psalm 23," *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth* (eds. C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 97-127.

[8] A. Cooper, "Structure, Midrash and Meaning: The Case of Psalm 23," *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Division A: The Period of the Bible; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1986) 107-114.

9 See, for example, N.H. Ridderbos, *Die Psalmen: Stilistische Verfahren und Aufbau Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Ps 1-41* (BZAW 17; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972) 192-195; A.A. Anderson, *Psalms 1* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1972) 195-199; H.–J. Kraus, *Psalmen 1-59* (BKAT 15/1; Neukirchener Verlag, 1978) 336-339; P.C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50* (Word Biblical Commentary 19; Waco: Word Books, 1983) 204-205; P. Auffret, "Essai sur la structure littéraire du Psaume 23," *Estudios Biblicos* 43 (1985) 57-88.

10 C.A. Briggs argued that Ps 23 contains three themes and corresponding strophes, shepherd (v 1-3a), guide (v 3b-4), and host (v 5-6); see *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms I* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1906) 207-211. This position has been adopted by A. Weiser (*The Psalms* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962) 227-31) and augmented by J. Boehmer, who suggests that one should distinguish between the "host" motif of v 5 and the "landlord" "home" motif in v 6. See J. Boehmer, "Der Reichtum von Psalm 23 (Vulg. 22)," *BZ* 23 (1935-36) 166-169. M. Dahood suggests a more complex chiastic arrangement, with vv 2-3 describing the "Elysian Fields," vv 4-5 depicting life on earth under divine care, v 6a echoing vv 4-5, and v 6b returning to the theme of vv 2-3; *Psalms I* (AB ?; Garden City, New York: Doubleday 1965) 145-146. P. Milne ("Psalm 23," 238-239) finds a frame (vv 1b, 6c) within which are "two internal structures" (vv 2a-3b and vv 4c-6a surrounding a central section comprised of v 4a-b. D.N. Freedman ("The Twenty-Third Psalm," 279-284) posits five stanzas (vv 1-2; 3-4a; 4b-d; 5; 6), forming two major strophes (vv 1-4a; 4b-5), and a concluding unit (v 6). A. Cooper's analysis describes a poem comprised of an opening two-clause verse (v 1), followed by two units (vv 2-4 and 5-6), which in turn are composed of two stanzas each (I: vv 2-3, 4 and II: vv 5, 6); see "Structure, Midrash, and Meaning," 110-11. According to S. Mittmann, Ps 23 is composed of an introductory verse (v 1a) followed by two sections each having two stanzas: I A: vv 1b-3a; B: vv 3b, 4b (v 4b-c is a later addition); II A: v 5; B: v.6. See S. Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit des Danklieds Psalm 23," *ZTK* 77 (1980) 2-15. Y. Bazak suggests that the poem is configured geometrically, with five two–cola stanzas (vv 1, 2, 3, 5, 6) arranged around a central six-cola unit (v 4); "Psalm 23 (The Lord is my Shepherd — As A Geometrical Poem," *Beth Mikra* 87 (1981) 372-376 (in Hebrew). For a diagram summarizing various views on the structure of Ps 23, see Auffret, "Essai," 58.

11 Without actually saying so, this is a possible implication of J.L. Kugel's comments on Ps 23 in *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981) 49-51, 66, 72, 88, 91. See also W.G.E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: a Guide to its Technique* (JSOTSS 26; Sheffield: JSOT, 1984) 45.

12 Craigie, *Psalms 1-50* 204–5.

13 J. Culler, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, Linguistics and the Study of Literature* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975) 31; A. Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1985) 135.

14 See R. Jakobson, "Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry," *Verbal Art, Verbal Sign, Verbal Time* (ed. K. Pomorska and S. Rudy; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985) 42. See also E. Greenstein, "How Does Parallelism Mean?" *A Sense of Text* (JQR Supplement; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982) 64.

15 See Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit," 2. Mittmann gives a certain priority to metrical considerations in determining the structure of the text. See, for example, his overall pattern on pp 2-3 and his discussion of vv 2a-3a on p 4.

16 We take MT *wĕšabtî* (*Qal qtl* 1 cs. form of *šûb* "to turn back, return") to represent what was originally a form of *yāšab* "to dwell." This reading is suggested by the Greek and Syriac versions. Read: 1) *wĕšibtî* or a contracted form of *wĕyāšabtî* (note Ug. *walādu* = *wa* + inf. abs. *yalādu*; Ginsberg, *LKK* 40); 2) *wāšabtî* for *yāšabtî*, with the */w/* as a root consonant for the original */y/* (see *wālād* for *yeled* in Gen 11:30); 3) a by-form (*šûb*) of the root *yšb*. Freedman suggests that one might omit the initial */w/*, as there is no other instance in Ps 23 where a verb is preceded by a conjunction, and interpret *šabtî* as a precative perfect, i.e. "May I dwell ..." or as a simple future. See Freedman, "The Twenty-Third Psalm," 298–9. See also Briggs, *Psalms I*, 212; L. Koehler, "Psalm 23," *ZAW* 68 (1956) 233; Dahood, *Psalms I*, 148; O. Eissfeldt, "Bleiben im Hause Jahwes," *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben. Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6. 10.1968* (Band I; ed. R. Stiehl und H.E. Stier; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1969) 76; Anderson, *Psalms I*, 199; ; Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit," 3, 14; Schottroff, "Le Psaume 23," 144. Others, such as F. Delitzsch (*Biblical Commentary on the Psalms I* (tr. D. Eaton; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1887) 40), followed by Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 204, suggest that the sense is "return and dwell."

17 See Freedman's vocalization and explanation in "The Twenty-Third Psalm," 277-278, and n. 8. Against this approach, see Berlin, *Biblical Parallelism,* 104, 152, n. 3. See also Cross's discussion of stress pattern, syllable count and colon length in F.M. Cross, "Studies in the Structure of Hebrew Verse: the Prosody of Lamentations 1:1-22," *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of his Sixtieth Birthday* (American Schools of Oriental Research Special Volume Series 1; eds. C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 131-132. Cross leaves open the question of auditory stress/quantitative rhythm, preferring to label lines as either *l(ongum)* or *b(reve).*

18 See for example Milne, "Psalm 23," 238, and Freedman, "The Twenty-Third Psalm," 283.

19 The verb *yirdĕpûnî* (*Qal yqtl* form of *rādap,* "to pursue, chase, persecute") may be ambiguous with respect to a positive or negative orientation in this verse. While it can mean "aim to secure," "follow after" or "attend closely upon," the usual connotations are negative and the usual contexts are those of chase, battle, or the hunt. This aspect of the text will be discussed in the forthcoming article.

20 See Milne, "Psalm 23," 239; Freedman, "The Twenty–Third Psalm," 283; and Bazak, "Psalm 23," 373, though each has a different view of the precise relationship of v 4 to the surrounding text.

21 See Auffret, "Essai," 58-59. Because he defines the poem's structure as I vv 1-4 and II vv 5-6, his analysis differs from the one presented here.

22 Contra Koehler, who interprets the initial colon as a temporal subordinate clause dependent on the verbal sentence; Koehler, "Psalm 23," *ZAW* 68 (1956) 228-229. See M. Weiss, *The Bible from Within* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984) 47-48, n. 2.

23 Prep. = preposition; NPh = noun phrase.

24 R. Alter suggests that in semantic parallelism, "the characteristic movement of meaning is one of heightening or intensification ... of focusing, specification, concretization ...." See R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985) 19. Similarly, J. Kugel argues that in Hebrew verse structure the B line adds to the A line by "... particularizing, defining, or expanding the meaning." Furthermore, "... by its very afterwardness, B will have an emphatic character ...." See *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981) 8.

25 Auffret, "Essai," 59.

26 We consider the particle *ky* to be primarily an emphatic introduction to Part II rather than an indication of the dependence of v 4c on v 4a-b. Admittedly, *ky-'th 'mdy* does provide an explanation for *l'-'yr' r'*. For a different view, See G.M. Schramm, "Poetic Patterning in Biblical Hebrew," *Michigan Oriental Studies in honor of George G. Cameron* (ed. L.L. Orlin; Ann Arbor: Department of Near Eastern Studies, The University of Michigan, 1976) 188-189.

27 The noun phrase *šbṭk wmš'ntk* is an instance of *causus pendence*, and it might be possible to consider it as *anacrusis* as well. Thus the stress and syllable count for line B would be 2/7. However, the phrase is rather long for *anacrusis*, and in any event, would receive some weight in the enunciation of the bicolon. Thus line A would be noticeably shorter in recitation than line B. For a discussion of *anacrusis*, see Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 110-111.

28 Note J. Muilenburg's assertion that *ky* is often strategically positioned at the beginnings and endings of stanzas. See "Form Criticism and Beyond," cited as reprinted in *The Bible in its Literary Milieu* (ed. J. Maier and v Tollers; Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1979) 374-376 [originally published in *JBL* 88 (1969) 1-18].

29 We read *hēmmā* as the 3 m. pl. independent pronoun, with Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit," 3; Auffret, "Essai," 59; and Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 203-204, among others. Dahood (*Psalms I*, 147) and Freedman ("The Twenty-Third Psalm," 293-294) regard *hmh* as "behold."

30 Auffret, "Essai," 60.

31 Verse 4c–d also is related to Stanza B by virtue of alliteration. Note the phonetic similarities between *ynḥmny* (v 4d) and *mnḥwt* and *ynhlny* (v 2b), the */m/* sounds in *my mnḥwt* (v 2b) and *hmh ynḥmny* (v 4d), and the occurrence of */š/* in *npšy yšwbb* (v 3a) and *šbṭk wmš'ntk* (v 4d). See Auffret, "Essai," 60; Bazak, 377.

32 After Auffret, "Essai," 66, 67.

33 Note also the occurrence of the sibilants */ṣ/* and */s/* in the stophes: *yrbyṣny* in v 2a, and *ṣrry* and *kwsy* in v 5a and c respectively. See Bazak, "Psalm 23," 374, 377.

34 For a different treatment of the relationship between these two stanzas, see Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit," 16.

35 Though not synonymous semantically or syntactically, both *ṭwb wḥsd* and *bbyt-yhwh* are metaphors for the speaker's state of well–being.

36 The precise semantic significance of this word is debated, with translations ranging from "darkness" through "deep shadow" and from "shadow of death" to "Sheol." There is agreement that *ṣlmwt* carries connotations of dark mystery, distress, mortal danger, foreboding and perhaps even death. See D. Winton Thomas, "*ṣlmwt* in the Old Testament," *JSS* 7 (1962) 196–8; J. Barr, "Philology and Exegesis: some general remarks with illustrations from Job," in *Questions disputées d'ancien Testament* (Bibliothecia Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 33; ed. C. Brekelmans (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1974) 52, 55. For a survey of the recent literature on the topic, see W.L. Michel, "ṢLMWT, 'Deep Darkness' or 'Shadow of Death'?" *Biblical Research* 19 (1984), 5–20. With specific reference to Ps.23:4a, see Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit," 9-10.

37 Bazak, "Psalm 23," 376; Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit," 10-11. According to Berlin, "Sound pairing enhances the perception of correspondence between the lines" of a text; see *Biblical Parallelism*, 111.

38 Bazak, "Psalm 23," 376; Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit," 10–11. Both words are emphatic by virtue of their general context, their final position in concluding cola, and their foregrounding through alliteration.

39 See Auffret, "Essai," 59; Bazak, "Psalm 23," 372, 377.

40 See Auffret, "Essai," 59; Bazak, "Psalm 23," 372, 377.

41 See Auffret, "Essai," 73, n. 34, 77, 86; Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit," 17. Mittmann suggests (p 16) that *l'* in v 4a is paralleled by *'k* in v 6a.

42 According to Waugh, the combination of opposition and equivalence is a fundamental feature of poetry. See L. Waugh, "The Poetic Function and Nature of Language," *Poetics Today* 2 (1980), 64–65. This position is supported by Berlin, *Biblical Parallelism*, 10-13.

43 See Mittmann, "Aufbau und Einheit," 16.

44 Note that this direct address to God is not an invocation.

45 For a discussion of the constituent factors in any form of linguistic communication, see R. Jakobson, "Closing statements: linguistics and poetics," *Style in Language* (ed. T.A. Sebeok; Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1960) 353.

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THE TWO FACES OF JOB: IMAGERY AND INTEGRITY IN THE PROLOGUE

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Most readers of the Book of Job are struck by the radical differences between the Job of the Prologue (chaps. 1-2) on the one hand, and the Job of the dialogue (chaps. 3-31) on the other.[1] The first is extraordinarily patient in the face of overwhelming catastrophe; the second is demonstrably impatient. These differences, together with other features of both sections, have led scholars to conclude that the prologue and the dialogue were originally quite separate.[2] However, despite the very real differences between both sections of the book, it is possible to discern a carefully contrived line of argument connecting the two parts. This paper demonstrates the presence of this continuity of thought and offers a different perspective on the acclaimed patience of Job. Essentially, it is suggested, Job's vehement rejection of his situation in chap. 3 has noteworthy antecedents in the prologue. The evidence for this argument is to be found in certain key words and phrases concerning 'skin,' 'wholeness' or 'integrity,' and 'cursing,' as well as

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1 H.L. Ginsberg, in his article "Job, the Book of" in the *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972, 111-121) stresses the distinction between the two Jobs by assigning them different sections of the book and calling them 'Job the Patient' and 'Job the Impatient.'

2 Cf. for example, R.H. Pfeiffer's *The Books of the Old Testament* (New York: Harper, 1957, 185) who observes, "The work of the poet ... consisted of a brief framework in prose (2:11-13; 42:7-10a, possibly only partially preserved); of Job's complaint (3); of a discussion between Job and his three friends, in three cycles (4-14; 15-21; 22-27; 29-31); of the speeches of God (38-39; 40:2, 8-14); and of Job's answer to God (40:3-5; 42:2-5), which may have contained the admission that the divine wisdom is inaccessible to mortals (28:1-27)."

other related matters. The role of these terms in understanding the book is briefly outlined.

Job's patience may be summarized in two responses he makes to those about him that express his attitude: "Naked came I from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return; the LORD gave, and the LORD has taken away; blessed be the name of the LORD," (1:21) and "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, ... and shall we not receive evil?" (2:10).

These expressions convey more than simple acquiescence: they contain hints of Job's subsequent rejection and near denial of God. They stand in sharp contrast to Job's opening statement in chapter 3: "After this, Job opened his mouth and cursed the day of his birth." The remainder of this chapter clearly enunciates Job's vigorous condemnation of his situation.

In the course of the narration of the events of both the prologue and the dialogue certain words and phrases stand out as having several meanings, all of which contribute to the development and tension of the story. A few of these terms are here selected for examination. They include reference to Job's 'skin' his 'integrity' and the function of cursing. In addition, certain elements of the phrases cited above are instructive about Job's real feelings. The analysis of these terms and phrases suggests that Job does in fact harbour a desire to curse God as the source of his woes from the start. Thus, there is not the radical change of attitudes between the prologue and dialogue as commonly supposed. However, it must immediately be said that this continuity of thought and feeling underlies, rather than is the first and obvious meaning of, the story-line.

There is some reason to believe that both Satan and Job's wife recognize that this is the true state of affairs.[3] Satan constantly attempts to penetrate Job's skin in the belief that

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[3] The Hebrew has 'the Satan' throughout. For the sake of convenience Satan alone is used here.

so doing will expose the inner Job who will then have no defenses with which to withstand his attacker. His innermost feelings will not then be held in check, as his skin presently contains them. In that event he will curse his God and die.

His wife similarly recognizes what appears to be a fact: if Job curses his God he will die. Witnessing his great suffering she suggests he put an end to it by cursing God himself. Her theological assumption is shared by the author of Lev 24 who states that he who curses his God will surely die. While her motives appear to be the best — the immediate relief of Job's great suffering — there may be some suggestion that she shares Satan's belief that Job inwardly desires to curse God, that he has ample justification for doing so, and that, given the circumstances, he indeed should do so. The fact that his wife is never mentioned by name, nor is she specifically restored to him at the end (except by implication), suggests her rather low estimate in the author's esteem. Indeed, at the conclusion of the story, everyone but Job's wife is restored to him. The emphasis on the children and their names to the exclusion of his wife is pointed. However, it remains speculative to a degree such that not too much weight can be put on it.

Cursing

Cursing also plays a central role in both the prologue and in chap. 3 of the dialogue. Job is apprehensive that his sons might have 'cursed' (literally 'blessed') God "in their hearts" (2:5), so he takes preventive measures to ward off any dangers that might accrue to them. Job's wife urges him to "curse (again, lit. 'bless') God and die." Much of chap. 3 is concerned with an elaborate series of curses designed to alleviate Job's situation by drastic measures.[4] Satan too is

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4 Lev 24 would appear to be helpful in understanding the use of euphemisms for cursing, although not completely satisfactory. Verse 2 seems to recognize some distinction between cursing and blaspheming.

continually trying to get Job to curse God as the source of his misfortunes. In all of these instances it is believed that the utterance of a curse will have immediate, and probably dire, consequences. Cursing is not simply an expression of irritation. It offers a radical means to change the situation through recourse to those powers which can be summoned into action through the agency of speech.

Satan's constant attempts to undermine Job's integrity, for example, are designed to cause Job to "sin or charge God with wrong." Job will say something that will damn him in the eyes of God. When the dialogue begins with the words, " ... and Job opened his mouth and cursed the day of his birth," the reader, familiar with the ancient belief in the real power of cursing, and knowledgeable about Job's scenario, expects to hear that Job is indeed about to curse God. He has had enough of suffering and, since he is aware that it is God himself who is the ultimate source of his misery, he is about to follow his wife's advice and bring about his own rapid demise. Instead, as the reader is well aware, the curse is diverted into a relatively harmless denunciation of the day of his own birth, an action that will not have the same serious consequences.

Job, I suggest, harbours within him a strong desire to curse God but he refuses to give it vocal expression. There seems to be an implicit distinction between an inner impulse and actual speech.[5] The further implication is that it is only speech of the wrong kind that would undo Job's integrity and render him indictable. Although the impulse to curse God "in his heart" may not be particularly elevating, as Job's fear for his sons' piety suggests, it is not of the same order of magnitude as the actual venting of curses against God evidently is. That Job is indeed restraining himself in this manner is evident on examination of those words and

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Also, no euphemisms are here employed. Moreover, the verbs used suggest 'belittling,' 'making light of,' rather than the kind of curses here indicated.

5 Cf. Lev 24:15-16.

phrases that together describe his integrity and physical condition.

Job's 'integrity' (tûmātô)

The word for Job's integrity, or perfection, *tûmātô*, also refers to his physical wholeness, or bodily integrity, which Satan continually assaults.[6] Satan does so in the belief that if he can once breach Job's defences then Job will have no alternative but to curse God and die. His skin acts as a kind of barrier that assists him in resisting this temptation to curse God. The term *tûmātô* is metaphoric and has this double significance of both moral and physical dimensions. Several elements of the story of the prologue confirm this understanding.

In 1:10 Satan requests God to remove the protective hedge from around Job that presently shelters him from adversity. For a real test of Job's probity, Satan must be permitted to get at Job himself without divine hindrance. In the second instance Satan requests even more than this with his demand that God "put forth (his) ... hand now, and touch his bone and his flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face" (2:5). Satan wants God himself to rupture, or at the least to permit the rupturing of, Job's skin so that he can truly be put to the test. Further examination of this and other similar phrases below confirms the hypothesis that *tûmātô* has decidedly more than a figurative significance. Its physical dimensions alert the reader to the fact that the metaphor is also pursued at another level that may be important for the full comprehension of the story. A look at

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6 M. Pope, in his commentary on Job (*Job: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 15 New York: Doubleday, 1965, 1973, 6) comments on 'blameless and upright.' "The first word carries the sense of perfection in terms of completeness while the second is connected with the idea of straightness. The two roots occur in juxtaposition in Ps. xxxvi 21 and in parallelism in Ps xxxvii 37. Taken together they indicate the peak of moral perfection."

the disease with which Job is afflicted confirms this approach.

'Boils' (šeḥîn)

The kind of disease that Job is afflicted with has caused much speculation.[7] Whether it is elephantiasis, or leprosy, or something similar is in fact secondary to the consideration of the symbolic significance of the disease in the debate between God and Satan on the question of Job's integrity.

Once God has set aside the protective barrier that shields Job from all adversity Satan, with divine acquiescence, afflicts Job with "loathsome sores from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head" (2:7) for the relief of which Job scrapes his skin with a piece of pottery and sits among the ashes. Job's action suggests that his disease is such that the internal bile must find an outlet through his skin.

The symbolic significance of Job's action seems to be, from Satan's perspective at least, that Job becomes sufficiently irritated by affliction that he will eventually wear away his skin and expose his inner core. In that event there will be nothing left, so to speak, to prevent Job's inner desire to curse God from finding expression. Hence Satan's ardent endeavours towards this end.

However, Job is not so easily undermined. He contents himself with the alleviation of his illness by sitting in the ash-pit and through mild irritation of his skin. Pointedly he does not gash his skin, nor does he remain unmoved. He detaches himself from his situation and begins a long dialogue with his friends and, ultimately, with his God who he knows to be the true cause of his physical and spiritual anguish.

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[7] Pope (*Job*, 21) notes "the term in the Old Testament always denotes a severe skin inflammation."

Job's scrupulous refusal to curse God denies Satan his victory. Job indicates that he is fully cognizant of the dangers of surrendering to his inner impulses as his sharp reprimand of his wife suggests. Nonetheless the internal bile with which he is afflicted must find some outlet. Thus when the dialogue begins with the words ,"And Job opened his mouth and cursed the day of his birth." the reader, aware of the nature and significance of the imagery involved, is apprehensive that Job is about to capitulate, curse God and die. Instead, Job's desire and need to curse is diverted into a relatively harmless, but significant, denunciation of the day of his birth. Job retains his integrity and begins a lengthy inquiry into the reasons for his suffering.

"Naked I came into the world ..."

Job's references to his own physical and mental condition are fraught with significant allusions. These elaborate descriptions of his condition refer the reader to a subtle debate. This underlying discourse links the themes of integrity, nakedness and cursing in a revealing way. The nature of this debate becomes evident on investigation of the associations that the language of Job deliberately evokes.

> Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return; the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord (1:21).

At first sight this expression seems to mean what it says: just as we bring nothing into the world, so we can take nothing out of it. This expression is commonly understood to typify Job's calm acceptance of his fate.

Closer examination of the text reveals the possibility of alternative interpretations. The imagery is also suggestive of the world of Genesis 1–11, particularly of the events of the so-called fall story. While proof of this association would require considerable demonstration, there is reason to suppose that, to some extent at least, the Book of Job may be a midrash on Gen 1-11.

Briefly, the Genesis story of the serpent's questioning of God's authority, the temptation of Adam and Eve, their loss of innocence, condemnation, re–clothing, and the curses that follow, appear to be recalled in the Joban author's portrayal of his character. Moreover, the nakedness of the primordial couple, closely associated with the 'cunning' of the serpent, the agent of radical change in the Paradisal scene, is echoed in the account of Job's condition.[8] The essential consequences of mankind's actions in Genesis are the loss of innocence and the acquisition of a certain kind of knowledge. The physical accompaniment to his changed condition, so to speak, is the exchange of their 'nakedness' for 'garments of skin,' protective wear to ward off possible adversity. Finally, they are ejected from the Garden in which they enjoyed a close association with God and an un–cursed existence.

The nakedness of Adam and Eve means more than the absence of clothing. Adam and Eve are not pictured as living in a deprived state; quite the opposite in fact. Job too begins in a paradisal setting. Initially he enjoys all the perquisites of spiritual and worldly success. These trappings are dramatically removed from him until he appears to be stripped of all he possesses: family, property, public esteem and friends. Even his own person is violated with savage attacks on his skin and integrity. Unlike Adam and Eve who are provided with some kind of protection, Job enjoys no such comfort. All that sustains him is his unwavering conviction of his integrity. He is completely at Satan's mercy, God having given him into his hands. Despite such adverse circumstances he remains confident that he can withstand all assaults. He asserts "even without my flesh I shall see God" (19:25), an expression whose literal meaning suggests that should his skin give way under Satan's attacks, he will nonetheless maintain his integrity, unlike his fabled ancestors.

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[8] The terms used in Genesis are *ʿărûmîm* (Gen 2:25) and *ʿārûm* (Gen 3:1).

In terms of the suggested associations with Gen 1-11, what the precise wording of Job's condition indicates is that Job represents humanity returned to the primordial context in order to replay the original scenario. Since Job is unequivocally obedient, the test must be about integrity, or righteousness. It may be the case that it is only under such stringent circumstances that the question of disinterested piety can be put: "does Job fear God for naught?" The exaggerated emphases on Job's obedience make it clear that the issue will not be obstructed by any shortcomings in this regard.

Further evidence of Job's restraint as well as of another level of discourse, may now be briefly cited. Job's response "naked I came into the world ..." is followed by the apparently superfluous remark, "in all this Job did not sin or charge God with wrong " (1:22).

The Soncino edition is more faithful to the Hebrew with its "For all this Job sinned not, nor ascribed aught unseemly to God."[9] The literal translation of the text is that Job did not "utter a prayer (*tiplâ*) to God", the word for prayer sometimes being more loosely translated. In the latter sense it may mean that he did not murmur against God.[10] It seems that Job did not say anything, the operative notion being that he did not utter speech. In terms of this paper, Job did not allow himself to give voice to his pent-up feelings. Whether this means he restrained his inherent urge to curse God in his heart is not quite clear, but is perhaps inferred. If read in this way, the phrase is less gratuitous than it otherwise might be.

As further confirmation of the reader's suspicion that remarks of this kind are far from gratuitous, a similar one is present following the second series of tests, which end with Job's rejection of his wife's advice. On this occasion there is the rather strange that, "in all this Job did not sin with his

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9 R.E. Reichert, *Job, Soncino Books of the Bible* (London: Soncino, 1946).

10. Cf. Reichert, *Job*, 5.

lips" (2:10). Given the earlier references to sinning in the heart, the discerning reader can be forgiven for supposing that he is meant to infer at least the possibility that Job might be harbouring just such malevolent notions. What attracts attention is the implicit recognition that if Job were to express his real feelings through the movement of his lips, one of the few openings in his skin, then, conceivably, curses might spew forth. The first few lines of the dialogue seem to support this interpretation. So too, on reflection, does Satan's colourful phase:

> "Skin for skin! All that a man has he will give
> for his life.
> But put forth they hand now, and touch his bone
> and his flesh, and he will curse thee to thy face"
> (2:4-5).

The curious feature of this phrase is that instead of the more usual *ʿôr lᵉʿôr*, or, *ʿôr taḥat ʿôr* there is the strange *ʿôr bᵉʿad ʿôr*. The well-known 'eye for an eye' is *ʿayin taḥat ʿayin*, suggesting what seems on the surface of things to be implied here, namely substitution. The word *bᵉʿad* seems to mean something more like 'entrance,' 'separation,' although it can have the meaning of 'in place of' as appears to be the case in the latter part of the verse where "all that a man has he will give for his life" again employs the *bᵉʿad* in the phrase *bᵉʿad napšō*.[11] However, the notion of 'entrance' is also present and is confirmed and occurs in that sense in 1:10.

The first line of 1:10 is, "Hast thou not put a hedge about him and his house ..." The 'about him' *baʿadō*, is the same word that means 'for' here . In Josh.2:15 it means 'window' and elsewhere it seems to have a similar kind of meaning. Pope notes that, "The preposition *bᵃʿad* does not have the primary sense of "for", "in exchange for", but

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[11] It is conceivable, however, that the be ad may also have the sense of "entrance' or 'separation' here in that it functions to protect life, to separate it from that which threatens it.

means "after, beyond". It is used in its separative sense with verbs meaning "to protect", as in 1:10 above ..."[12]

The reference here should be seen to mean something of the order of 'layer upon layer of skin' meaning, layers of skin protecting the inner core, namely the heart. It is noteworthy that this is the sense adopted by many critics, as indicated in Pope:

> The suggestion (Schultens) that the sense is *cutis super cute* is attractive. Man has dermis under his epidermis, and Job's wounds have only been superficial thus far.... The interpretation of Tur–Sinai is inviting, and is the one implied by the translation "skin after skin". The wise man reflected on the wonders of the human body. The human heart is well protected, the most innaccessible part of man's body: only God can search the heart,the seat of his affections and innermost being, is protected by a series of walls, as the inner chamber of a labyrinth, "a chamber within a chamber", I Kings xx 30, xxii 25. The Satan wants permission to get at Job himself to do more than scratch the surface, to penetrate his outer defenses and put his very being in jeopardy. The Lord thus gives the Satan leave to get under Job's skin, to do anything to him short of extinguishing his life.[13]

This line of interpretation is convincing and confirms the parallel in v. 5 in which skin is portrayed as that which protects life which, if it were removed, would expose its owner to deadly risk:

> But put forth thy hand now and touch his bone
> and his flesh and he will curse thee to thy face.

Once more the Hebrew is instructive. The phrase is not simply 'touch his bone and his flesh,' but touch unto or, as far as, his bone and his flesh.[14] The idea is to penetrate as far as bone and flesh, that is, to get to the very core of Job's being, namely his heart. When that point is reached, Satan

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12 Pope, *Job*, 20.

13 Pope, *Job*, 20-21.

14 The actual phrase is *'el-'aṣmô w'el-b'śārô* 'unto/as far as his bone and unto/as far as his flesh.'

believes, Job's integrity will be violated; his wholeness/perfection will be undone. Thus, taken together the verse would seem to mean that Satan wants to get at Job's heart, the centre of his being, in the belief that, if successful, he can cause Job to curse God. He is presently obstructed in this endeavour by the protective layers of Job's skin.

"Let those curse it ..."

Further evidence of this connection between the puncturing of Job's skin and his susceptibility to the temptation to curse God may be found in the references to Leviathan in chap. 3 and in the Yahweh speeches. For the moment it is sufficient to note the reference in 3:8 which forms part of a series of curses on the day of Job's birth. Job's apparent desire is somehow to be unborn and he calls on Leviathan and all the powers he controls for assistance. "Let those curse it who curse the day who are skilled to rouse up Leviathan."[15] In the imagery Leviathan is represented as lying dormant in the deeps awaiting a summons to action by those capable of arousing him. Once aroused he will reinstitute chaos and thereby cause the destruction of the day on which Job was born and ultimately Job's own demise.

Of particular interest here is the play on the words for 'those who curse' (*ʾorᵉrê yôm*), the 'arousers of Leviathan' (*ʾorᵉrê liyātān*) and 'skin' (*ʿōr*). It seems that Leviathan is to be aroused from his slumbers by cursers who prod his skin (but none is capable of penetrating his skin, as the Yahweh Speeches make very clear). Leviathan is in many ways an opposite to Job. His skin is allegedly impenetrable from the outside, whereas Job's is penetrable. However, whereas Leviathan's strength is in his hide, as chap. 41 points out at great length, Job's strength lies in his heart

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15 Several different words for 'curse' are employed here which play on each other and on the verb 'to arouse': *yiqqᵉbuhû ʾōrᵉrēyôm, hāʿᵃtîdîm ʿōrēr.*

such that in 19:26 he can declare that even without his skin and flesh he can gaze on God: "and after my skin has been thus destroyed, then from my flesh I shall see God."[16]

Leviathan's destruction could, presumably, be brought about by the penetration of his skin; Job's undoing would only eventuate by puncturing from the inside, as it were. That demise would occur if Job were to release the curse Satan believes resides in Job's heart. Once more there is an evident connection between skin, wholeness, integrity and cursing.

Finally, to return to the telling phrase that opens the dialogue: "After this, Job opened his mouth and cursed the day of his birth." Normally the words 'and Job spoke,' or even the longer 'and Job spoke and said' would be sufficient introduction to what follows. The additional words 'and Job opened his mouth and cursed the day of his birth' are very striking in the context.[17] They confirm the importance and significance of the many references to skin, cursing and integrity which are central to these chapters and simultaneously sustain the dramatic tension built up by the expectation that Job might after all wish to curse God for his sufferings. The implication that underneath his integrity Job may wish to curse God, is here given recognition by the supposition that he may be on the point of doing so. Instead the curse is diverted into a relatively harmless denunciation of the day of his birth.[18] The curse is turned aside and Job obtains more time and opportunity to pursue the causes for his dilemma.

From these incomplete observations about various references to nakedness, skin, cursing, Leviathan and other matters both in the prologue and in chap. 3, it seems that there are promising connections both between the two

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16 The Hebrew clearly indicates the shedding of skin and flesh.

17 Here the verb employed is *qallel* which has the sense of 'make light of' or 'belittle.'

18 Again, it is *qallel* 'to make light of' that is used here.

sections of the book as well as between these words and phrases here examined. These connections suggest the existence of an ironic level of discourse in the poem that seems productive for understanding the changes in the character of Job. Although the picture that emerges may detract a little from his famed patience, it adds in terms of a more complete appreciation of attitude and perspective. It would also seem evident from the above examination that the prologue is much more subtly linked to the dialogue than is commonly assumed. Other references to the kind of imagery here briefly explored, found in chap. 19, the Yahweh Speeches and elsewhere, offer further promise for investigation along these lines.

ON EVIL IN THE BOOK OF JOB

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This paper develops some ideas on the ending of the Book of Job which I advanced in rather less academic form in my commentary in the Daily Study Bible series.[1] It is dedicated to the memory of a former student and dear friend who was struck down by what is called in pagan idiom "the wayward decrees of Fate" (Thackeray). The ancient book which it takes as its subject-matter finds worthier words both to protest at and to see beyond such cruel and hurtful happenings.

The opening verses of chap. 40 are among the most crucial in the book. We may imagine a pause as Yahweh waits for Job to respond to his long and magnificent discourse in chaps. 38 and 39. When he says nothing, Yahweh sarcastically asks (verses 1 and 2) whether the practised fault-finder has any more complaints to level against him. This taunt draws a brief reply from Job (verses 3-5); but, as I read it, it is an ungracious, even an ironic, reply. Job acknowledges that, compared with the deity of whose wisdom and power he has been so forcibly reminded, he is of small account, and had better hold his tongue. Clearly Job is not satisfied; and it is not difficult to see why. The divine adversary, whom he had for so long been seeking to discover and unmask, had at last deigned to appear at his summons, only to read him a lecture, in the form of a series of patently rhetorical questions, on a theme — that of "God knows best" — which his erstwhile friends had already on not a few occasions made their own (e.g.

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1 Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press and Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985.

11:5-12; 15:7-8; 22:12 ff.).

Of course, Job is not being fair to God in reacting thus. But when had Job ever been fair to God? It should not surprise us, therefore, that the disgruntled sufferer on the ash heap was not able to recognize how uniquely he had been favoured in being granted a personal theophany, or to take heart from the fact that God had pointedly not followed up his speech by impugning his innocence, something that the friends had invariably done when they were defending the divine providence (e.g. 11:6; 15:12-16; 22:5,15). Job could not but be aware that he was being put in his place; but, if he had had ears to hear, he ought to have taken this strong hint that they were also going to be put in theirs. At this moment, however, Job had ears for only one unambiguous verdict. His last words before the voice from the whirlwind (in 31:35 ff.) had been proud and Promethean-like, as he imagined himself approaching the God who would be his judge, bearing aloft the indictment of him prepared by the God who had been his adversary, confident that such an indictment, if honestly written, would be tantamount to a clearing of his name and that it would secure his immediate acquittal. Now that he was face to face with his judge and adversary, that acquittal had not been forthcoming; and he felt cruelly let down. He had been subjected to a sermon on how complicated a task God had taken on in governing his creation and how well he was — in general — performing it, when what he longed for was an answer that bore on his particular case and wiped the anguished tears from his eyes. Job falls silent; but it is a silence that speaks as loudly of his state of mind in God's awesome presence as any of his previous embittered and angry tirades had of his state of mind in God's equally awesome absence.

What ought to surprise us about this climactic part of the Book of Job is that so surly a rejoinder should have elicited a further divine speech from the whirlwind and that, moreover, this speech should seem, at least as it starts, to engage with the problem that was eating away at Job's

innards. It looked as though divinity, for all its claims to mysteriousness, was conceding that Job was entitled to express dissatisfaction. The tone of Yahweh's second discourse in chapters 40 and 41 is no less brusque than that of the first, the sarcasm is just as heavy, and once again the prostrate complainer is hauled unceremoniously to his feet. It is apparent that any concession on God's part was not going to save Job from a severe verbal mauling. But the point at issue is no longer, as it had been in the first speech, God's "counsel" (38:2), that is to say his general providence, but his "justice" (40:8), in other words his specific responsibility for seeing to it that right prevailed over wrong in his world. Job had chosen the ground for the second encounter.

It is a remarkable initial success; but it is as far as Job will be permitted to dictate the proceedings. Yahweh goes on to ask: "Will you also (i.e. in addition to obscuring or misrepresenting my general providence) discredit my justice? Must you pronounce me guilty so that you may feel innocent?" It is a question that takes us to the root of what this book is about, namely the existence in what is supposed to be a good God's good world of wicked men prospering and innocent men being overwhelmed by adversity. And it is a question that comprehensively hoists Job with his own petard. The question in effect accuses Job of the same perverse logic which he had so devastatingly exposed in his so-called friends. They, in order to exonerate God, had felt compelled to make Job out to be guilty (e.g. 8:20; 11:6; 15:4-6; 22:1-5). He, in order to exonerate himself, had felt compelled to make God out to be unjust (e.g. 9:13-24; 13:15-16; 16:11-17; 19:7-9; 24:12). The implication is obvious: Did it have to be that way? Could not both God be just and Job be good? The implication of the following verses (40:9-14) is equally obvious: God had been, even while Job was carping at him, dealing with the problem. In splendid wrath he invites Job to take over his responsibility for righting the world's wrongs and see whether he could do any better. Only when Job had successfully consigned the last of mankind's oppressors to Sheol would he, God,

confess to him that his own right hand could save him, that is, could guarantee the conditions for justice to be done — and be seen to be done — in his own life and — one could add — in the lives of countless people like him.

It is after that very important paragraph that we have the celebrated descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan. It seems to me that in such a context these two named entities must be brought into connection with the "every one that is proud" and "the wicked" of verses 11 and 12 and, like them, represent in some way the evil forces which God is hinting are the real cause of Job's predicament and which, not Job, but only he can master; especially is this so if one takes into account the very similar terms in which the activity of Leviathan is summarized in the final verse devoted to it (41:26 = English 41:34). The naturalistic identifications espoused by a majority of commentators singularly fail to make a link of this kind.[2] On the contrary, if (as they argue) the names are to be understood as mere nicknames for the hippopotamus and crocodile of Egypt, and it is specifically denied that they have any of the mythological connotations which the name Leviathan at least has elsewhere, we are immediately taken back into the ambience of Yahweh's first speech; Job is presented to us as a rebel who has still to be crushed and no real concession is made to him from God's side; rather the knife is turned again in his wounds, and a more fitting submission is extracted from him by more of the same "God knows best" treatment. The man who had refused to be convinced that he was prying into matters that were beyond him by the parade of extraordinary and

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2 It may be auspicious that the two latest treatments of the chapters, in N.C. Habel's impressive commentary (London: SCM, 1985) and in J. Day's well-documented thesis, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), are strongly opposed to a naturalistic interpretation. Prior to them only a few scholars, beginning with Hermann Gunkel in his *Schopfung und Chaos* of 1895 and represented more recently by, e.g. Mary K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster* (Leiden: Brill, 1973) and M.H. Pope in his commentary (New York: Doubleday, 1974), had espoused a mythological interpretation with any enthusiasm.

unbiddable wild creatures of the Palestinian scene in chap. 39 is brought finally to his knees by the contemplation of these two even fiercer and more fantastic beasts from more exotic climes. The two descriptions thus do not expand upon or develop the thrust of 40:9-14, but let the hopes that these verses seem to raise also peter out in mystery. They further complicate rather than explicate the workings of divine providence; and Job's only proper response becomes — sincerely this time — to confess his ignorance and defer to a superior wisdom, abandon his resentment and humbly trust in an inscrutable God to look after his own. It has to be sufficient for him to know that the One who "moves in mysterious ways, his wonders to perform" (Cowper) has appeared to him and assured him of his concern.

I cannot accept that the denouement of the Book of Job is to be sought in this direction of a mystical experience which mitigates the pain of but does nothing to help us understand life's more acute enigmas. It involves lines of interpretation that seem to me to be at once too modernistic and (if I may use the term) too "Christian" for an Old Testament book. They are too modernistic in their refusal to recognize a heavy overlay of myth in Yahweh's second speech; and they are too "Christian" in their desire to denigrate Job's knowledge of God and their reluctance to admit that he deserved the acquittal which he is shortly to receive (42:7-8).[3] Few

[3] The term "Christian" requires some explanation. In general it may be taken to include "Jewish." Though in both communities modern commentators now take seriously the rebellious Job of the main body of the book, it was not always so; and our respective interpretative traditions can still exert a hidden pressure on us. From the time of James 5:11 and the first century Testament of Job until relatively recently the Job who was, both in Jewish and in Christian circles, consistently held up as a model for the faithful, was not the rebellious Job, but the acquiescent Job of the book's first two chapters and the Job who in the final chapter regrets his rebellion and submits. But in fact the Book of Job has figured more regularly in Christian than in Jewish piety; and there are signs now and again (e.g. in the *Zohar*) of a more open approach on the part of Jewish interpreters than of Christian. For a brief account of rabbinic, patristic and mediaeval exegesis of the book see the Introduction to N.N. Glatzer (ed.), *The Dimensions of Job: A Study and*

Hebrew readers would have been worried by considerations of such a kind, at any rate not in the way that we today tend to be worried by them.

But how would such a reader most naturally have reacted to Yahweh's second speech?

As regards the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan, he might well, especially if he had visited Egypt, have detected in them features that reminded him of a real hippopotamus and a real crocodile. Thus Yahweh's Behemoth was, like the real hippopotamus, hideously thick and powerful; it slunk in the water near the river bank with only its eyes protruding sinisterly above the surface; it stood immovable even when the river was in headlong spate (40:16 ff.). Yahweh's Leviathan likewise, like a real crocodile, was clothed with a veritable coat of mail, there was terror round its teeth, the scales on its back were disposed in menacing rows, it squatted like a threshing sledge on the mud-flats, it churned up the water as it moved and left behind a spectacular wake (41:5-9, 22-24 = English 41:13-17, 30-32). The hunting scenes (40:24; 40:25= English 41:1ff.; 41:18ff. = English 41:26ff.), with their talk of hooks and ropes and spears and their scent of insane bravado and imminent danger, might also have struck such a reader as most realistically portrayed.

But no Hebrew reader would have been taken in by the verses (41:10-13 = English 41:18-21) which picture Leviathan spitting forth flame and smoke. These verses could only confirm for him what the use of the name Leviathan would already have suggested to him, that the author was not describing any beast to be found in nature. Rather he was composing for his own purposes his own individualistic and imaginative portrait of the chaos monster or dragon of Hebrew legend, which (as we learn from various tangential allusions in the Old Testament) Yahweh defeated at the beginning of time when he first created the world, but which he had also to keep under constant

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Selected Readings (New York: Schocken Books, 1969).

surveillance thereafter in case it should return to threaten his peaceable creation. Probably Behemoth (which is, strictly speaking, a title meaning "the beast" *par excellence*) was also already known to such a reader, either as an alternative name of the same legendary monster or as the name of another monster associated with it, as would be names and titles like *Rahab* ("the boisterous or arrogant one"), *Tannîn* ("sea-creature"), *Nāḥāš* ("serpent") or even *Yām* ("sea") or *Nᵉhārôt* ("rivers or floods"), all of which occur in the Old Testament. The name Leviathan itself, like the Hebrew word for "garland" or "wreath", suggests something "twisted"; and, to judge by other allusions in the Old Testament, the creature was commonly thought of as a sea-serpent, with a coiled body and several heads. But it would not, I believe, come as something entirely unexpected to a Hebrew reader of these chapters to find it depicted as a crocodile or Behemoth as a hippopotamus.[4]

Old Testament references to such mythological scenes and creatures are, as I have indicated, scattered and indirect; for examples see Psalms 74:13-14; 87:4; 89:11 (English 89:10); 93:3-4; Isaiah 27:1; 30:7; 51:9; Jeremiah 51:34;

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[4] I should like to emphasize that, in admitting that there are features of the real hippopotamus and crocodile in the descriptions, features which do not appear in other Old Testament passages, I am not making any concession to the naturalistic interpretation. This interpretation is unknown before S. Bochart's *Hierozoicon* of 1663, and clearly arose out of an acquaintance with the nascent zoological science of the seventeenth century; it was therefore from the beginning an interpretation antipathetic to myth. Rather I am trying to take seriously the evidence since discovered of Egyptian iconographic portrayals of hippopotamus and crocodile hunts, which were at first presumed to be realistic but are now recognized to have a mythological basis, the animals concerned representing Seth being subdued by Horus; see on this the detailed studies of O. Keel, *Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978) and V. Kubina, *Die Gottesreden im Buche Hiob* (Freiburg: Herder, 1979). I am assuming, in effect, that the author of the Book of Job was aware of this mythological dimension when he chose to fill out his essentially Hebraic/Canaanite pictures of Behemoth and Leviathan with Egyptian-inspired motifs; and I am assuming also that his original audiences would have been sufficiently on his wave-length to appreciate what he was up to.

Ezekiel 29:3; 32:2; Habakkuk 3:8. In the contexts of these references, too, there are varying applications: to the primaeval events of creation, but also to the exodus from Egypt, to the Pharaoh and to Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, to the return from exile, even to events in the apocalyptic future. But such statistics should not be underestimated. The import of the allusions must have been readily grasped by the readers or audiences concerned, and this suggests not only a wide acquaintance on their part with the stories behind them but a sophisticated awareness of the kind of metaphorical uses to which they could be put. Rather than catching a few echoes of continuing pagan influence in Israelite religion, I believe that they put us in touch with a native popular Hebrew mythology of no small extent and complexity, and make it incumbent upon us to reassess the place of myth in Old Testament thinking.

But our hypothetical reader of the final chapters of the Book of Job would have had even more to go on than this general background of Hebraic mythology. Earlier in the book there is a small but significant series of references to Leviathan — and to *Rahab* and *Yām* — which he would now recall, and which he may well have concluded had been strategically placed by the author in order to build up the appropriate atmosphere of superhuman strength and sinister cunning within which to interpret the role of the two beasts in Yahweh's second speech. It is the atmosphere of 3:8 and the Leviathan which in his opening lament Job urgently requests be roused to curse the night of his conception and effectively reverse the process of his creation; of 7:12 and the monstrous *Yām* over which God had to set a guard and with which Job ironically compares himself; of 9:13 and the attendant cohorts of *Rahab* which had once lain prostrate, as Job now did, before God; of 26:12-13 and the *Rahab* which in the "thunder of his power" God smote and the "twisting serpent" which his hand pierced; and finally of 38:8-11 (from Yahweh's first speech) and the primaeval sea, which had to be shut in with doors and for which God had to prescribe a limit; "Thus far.....and no farther!" With such

suggestive allusions jostling in his memory, no Hebrew reader could have failed to realize who Behemoth and Leviathan really were or to get the central message of Yahweh's second speech: What you, Job, cannot do, I can do, control the evil that is in my world.

The point which a modern reader, suspicious of the very word "myth", has to appreciate about all this is that, though the author of the Book of Job is not averse to borrowing mythological motifs that belonged properly to surrounding pagan cultures, he is in the main drawing his imagery from an indigenous Hebrew mythology, which came into existence simply because Israel lived at the time and in the milieu she did. It was a mythology just as extravagant as the mythologies of her neighbours, and it had many motifs and concepts and even key words in common with these mythologies (the titles *Lōtanu* or *Lītanu* = Hebrew Leviathan and *Yammu* = Hebrew *Yām* are used for the chaos monster in the Ugaritic tablets, as is *Naharu*, "river"; cf. Hebrew *N^{e}hārôt*)[5] But it knew only one supreme deity, Yahweh, and it was intended to enhance his reputation. He it was who slew the dragon, that is, contained the great primaeval deep, and he alone who created the universe thereafter and brought cosmos out of chaos. Indeed, he it was who created the dragon and allowed it entrance to his world in the first place; and he it is who is ready to re-subdue it should it return as "chaos-come-again" to disrupt his created order. There is evidence that the more fastidious of the Old Testament writers were unhappy with the fantastic furniture of the popular stories about Yahweh and the dragon and tried, like the author of Genesis chapter 1, to describe the relations between Yahweh and his creation without the

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5 The relevant Ugaritic material is treated briefly in my *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1978) 6ff., and in more detail in Day's book. For a fuller discussion of what I call the "theology" of the Baal Cycle (in which the material chiefly occurs) see my article in the Mitchell Dahood Festschrift, *Orientalia* 53 (1984) 202-219, a study in which I attempt to redress the consistently negative assessment of things Canaanite found in the Old Testament, and which has several points of contact with this paper.

unseemly clash of conflict; and the modern reader cannot but feel sympathy with them.[6] But there is also the evidence of the Book of Job and the passages cited above from the Psalms and the Prophets that Israel's poets did not share their scruples, but welcomed the idea of such a clash and the purple language associated with it, and indeed that they extended the chaos battle motif into the political and moral spheres as well. In effect, Leviathan and his various counterparts become in their hands imaginative symbols, not only for every *thing*, natural or demonic, that endangers the stability and fruitfulness of the earth and threatens the welfare of its human inhabitants, but for every *one*, be it enemy nations or wicked individuals, who acts contrary to Yahweh's will and purpose and oppresses or exploits his faithful people. The modern reader will be much less at east with such mytho-poetic metaphors than were their Hebrew initiators, and they may strike him as distinctly *risqué*; but he should try to keep his unease at bay and should certainly not be tempted to dismiss them as mere literary conceits, for insights of vital importance for Old Testament theology are involved which he will be in danger of missing.

I cannot help concluding that this is indeed what has happened in the case of the majority of today's commentators on the second speech of Yahweh. Because they cannot stomach the popular mythology which informs it, they have divested Behemoth and Leviathan of their archetypal menace and naturalized them, making them, instead of into symbols of an evil which, in its formidability, God is compelled to fight, into mere artefacts of his which, by their peculiarity, are but extra examples of his enigmatic providence. Yahweh's second speech thus becomes a replica of his first, and his taunting of Job over his inability

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6 This evidence should not be exaggerated to the extent that the Biblical writers concerned are presented as theoretically hostile to myth. See further my *Genesis* Volume 1 in the Daily Study Bible (1981) 25ff., where I argue that there is considerable "mythological" menace behind Genesis 1:2, although any mention of a chaos monster is studiously avoided.

to crush evil becomes, not a prelude to an explanation of how he himself *is* able to do this, but a rebuke to Job for not realizing that he cannot have such an explanation but must simply accept that in some strange way God is in charge of his creation. There is a mystical passing of information that God cares for him in spite of all that may seem to the contrary, but no more. I cannot believe that a Hebrew reader would have been content with an interpretation that in essence swallows up evil in mystery — not at any rate if he were acquainted with the worship of his people and those doleful and angry lyrics which we call the Lamentation Psalms.

This brings me to my criticism of most commentators on the closing chapters of the Book of Job for being, in the thrust they give their interpretations, what, rather mischievously, I described as too "Christian". We are today apt to be thoroughly embarrassed by Job's attacks on God and his claims to innocence. Neither are of the stuff of traditional Christian piety which, if the truth be told, is probably more comfortable with the Job of the book's first two chapters who acquiesces in his suffering with the noble, if unquestioning, sentiments of 1:21 and 2:10. But that was before despair overtook him and he went on the rampage against God. It is what we meet with in chapters 3ff. that show us the Job who in the author's eyes is the real hero of this book; and what we meet with there is a rising crescendo of vicious accusations against God and scurrilous insinuations about him that no religious person can read without shuddering, and a series of boastful claims to be a good man that are not at all like what we encounter in the Epistle to the Romans. The friends of Job, it is true, were also scandalized at Job on these same scores; and, in tones that cannot but remind us of those of traditional Christian piety, they counselled him (when they were not condemning him) to make his peace as a sinner with God, to abandon his whining, and to fling himself in humble contrition on God's mercy (e.g. 5:8ff., 17ff.; 8:5-7; 11:13ff.; 15:11-13; 22:21ff.). It is in our eyes not unmerited counsel — yet we know what happens to them. We know that the verdicts for

and against that are pronounced by Yahweh in chap. 42 are intended by the author to refer back to the respective stances which Job and his friends have earlier adopted; and this distresses us. We have to steel ourselves to accept that the rebel should be approved and the defenders of orthodoxy condemned, even though the orthodoxy the one is rebelling against and the others are defending (that of Israel's Wisdom schools as revealed, for instance, in the Book of Proverbs) may not be in every respect a Christian orthodoxy.

As the reactions of his friends show, there would be some in ancient Israel who did not relish the attitudes of complaint and defiance displayed by Job. But, if the Lamentation Psalms are anything to go by, there would be many more who would recognize in him a kindred spirit. They would detect right away the source of so much of his language, and would recall the anxious *Why's* and *How long's* of the laments that supplied so large an element in Israel's public worship. They had heard this kind of thing often before, and they would see in Job a representative, be it a particularly robust one, of an honourable tradition of doubting and protest in God's presence that went back not only to Moses (see Exodus 5:22-23) but to forefather Abraham himself (see Genesis 18:25). They would not be expecting him to be totally rebuffed. On the contrary, they would be looking for God to come to his aid; for the genre of lament was above all a strategy designed to move God to action.[7]

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[7] The two studies, which have done most in recent years to give to the language of "lament" a place in Old Testament scholarship commensurate with its place in the Old Testament writings, are C. Westermann's 1974 article, "The Role of Lament in the Theology of the Old Testament", now incorporated in his *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Edinburgh: T.&T.Clark, 1981).259 ff.; and R. Davidson's wide—ranging but no less incisive *The Courage to Doubt: Exploring an Old Testament Theme* (London: SCM, 1983). It should be noted that Westermann is one of the few modern scholars to adopt a (partially) mythological interpretation of Behemoth and Leviathan; see his *The Structure of the Book of Job* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981).115 ff. (a book which also plots the extensive presence of lament language in Job's speeches).

It is rare that the Lamentation Psalms reach the level of Job's rancour. But that they too can come near to blasphemy is evidenced by a communal lament like Psalm 44. In this the worshipping community appeal to Yahweh to succour them following a national disaster (verses 24-27 = English 23-26); but before that they accuse him of having sold his people for "a trifle" (verse 13 = English 12) and cast them off, although they had been loyal to him and had not "been false" to his covenant (verse 18 = English 17). I find it highly revealing both that the Septuagint should mistranslate verse 23 (English 22) and that St. Paul should follow it in the quotation he makes from this psalm in Romans 8:36. A quite savage "Because of you (Yahweh) we are slain all the day long" becomes in the interests of a later age's more sensitive theology a sturdy but more congenial "For your sake...."[8] No true-blue worshipper in Solomon's temple could possibly have taken such a meaning out of the original Hebrew. (It is a pleasure to be able to record that Peter Craigie, in his excellent commentary on Psalms 1-50 did not fudge this issue. He translates "on account of you" and comments: "God should have been with them and given them victory; instead he had crushed them and permitted them to be slaughtered".)[9]

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[8] It may also be revealing that of the four probable or possible citations from the Book of Job in the Pauline writings, three (of 4:8 in Gal 6:7; of 4:9 in 2 Thess 2:8; and of 5:3 in 1 Cor 3:19) are from the speech of a friend (had the Apostle a special liking for this first oration of Eliphaz?); and one (of 41:3 = English 41:11 in Rom 11:35) is from a passage in Yahweh's second speech which may, like Ps 44:23 (English 22), have been tampered with to make it more acceptable to later sensibilities. The Massoretic Text of 41:2b-3, which is the one translated by the Vulgate and the Authorized Version, has Yahweh speaking of the folly of anyone daring to stand up to him; but there is other textual evidence to suggest that originally the lines had him praising the invincibility of Leviathan; see the renderings of the Jerusalem and New English Bibles. In my commentary (252-253) I even suggest that the lines should be assigned to Leviathan as speaker, adducing the words of the Devil in Matthew 4:8-9 as a possible parallel.

[9] *Psalms 1-50* (Word Biblical Commentary, Waco: Word Books, 1983) 331, 334.

We can perhaps now see why so many of today's commentators seem almost to deny that Job merits the vindication which he feels is his due — and which in chap. 42 he in fact receives. They even summon source criticism to their aid. They distance Yahweh's speeches as far as they can from the prose epilogue in the second half of chap. 42, and argue that the latter is not the author's own composition, but derives from an old folk-tale which he uses as a narrative framework but does not intend his readers to take too seriously. There is truth in this assessment; but how serious is "seriously"? The same folk-tale is reproduced in the book's first two chapters, and it is there that it is established that Job is suffering undeservedly. That information at least is essential, otherwise the whole book loses its cutting edge. Not so vital — unless the author is making an ironic comment by leaving them in — are the verses (42:10ff.) in which the restoration of Job to his former prosperity is described. One of the author's undoubted purposes is to overturn the accepted doctrine of Hebrew Wisdom that people in this life, by as it were the operation of a divine slide-rule, reap what — be it of good or be it of ill — they sow. These verses cannot therefore belong to the positive teaching of the book. But is the public declaration of Job's innocence in 42:7ff. in the same case? I do not think so, if only because this paragraph brings in the friends whose disputations with Job had been so prominent earlier in the book and who have still to receive their come-uppance. I would regard the short, sharp verdicts on both Job and his friends recorded in the final chapter as aids to the reader as he comes to the end of as pulsating and bewildering a book as he must ever have worked his way through. They would concentrate his mind on what God thought of the main protagonists, not what he himself may have thought of them — or, to phrase this more humanistically, they are the author's succinct way of testing, through the reactions they elicited, whether his readers had grasped what he had been trying to say to them.

But let us assume, for the sake of argument, that the

whole epilogue is irrelevant or, at any rate, that the situation in which Job finds himself after the two divine speeches from the whirlwind and before the "happy ending" is more akin to that of a real sufferer in the real world. He has been informed in no uncertain terms that there are many things he does not know and many things he cannot do; he has, if you like, received *his* come-uppance. He has been forced to come to terms with the indeterminacy of living a life of faith in a world where, as old Eliphaz had told him long before (5:7), "Man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward."[10] But indeterminacy is not the same as mystery. It does not preclude God making it abundantly clear that he is vitally concerned with justice and is open to be moved by the cries of earth's countless innocent victims, that he has a "bias" towards the poor and oppressed and is engaged in a constant battle with the evil forces — supernatural, natural or human — which hold them in subjection. It was to demand assurance of this that the Lamentation Psalms were composed, and they carry all the marks of urgency and desperation that Old Testament piety is capable of; and it was to give his hero assurance of this in his anger and perplexity that, I believe, the author of the Book of Job composed the speech in chaps. 40 and 41 and daringly offered it to God to be his own. If the first speech of Yahweh is designed to put Job in his place and defend the mystery of God's ways against his prying eyes, the second has as its purpose the emphasizing of God's grace; it draws aside the curtain that hides divinity just sufficiently for one man at the end of his tether to glimpse that grace in action and find a little light in darkness and a little comfort in despair.

Job's submission in 42:1-6 then follows meaningfully as an Old Testament submission of creature before his Creator. It need not be given, nor should we feel it our duty to give it, a "Christian" twist. Job comes to the realization that God can do "all things", meaning particularly by this that he will

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10 This is one place where I am reluctant to introduce a mythical allusion (to the presumed activities of the Canaanite deity Resheph), much preferring the traditional and evocative "sparks."

not allow his purpose in creating and sustaining the world to be thwarted by Behemoth or Leviathan or any other evil powers arrayed against him. There was much in God's wonderful and complicated providence which was beyond Job's understanding, and this he readily and suitably owned; but to balance this, he has been granted a vision of God in action against evil. It is that new knowledge of God, a knowledge *not* withheld from him, that causes Job to collapse in self-loathing; and his self-loathing comes about, not because he had found out how ignorant and sinful he was, but because he had suddenly discovered how insufferably arrogant he had been in assuming that the divine grace was not sufficient for his, or anyone else's, needs. Before this he had only heard of God; but now he "sees" him, a statement that should be interpreted not simply in terms of a mystical experience that prompts him to drop his complaints and calms his fears, but more precisely in terms of his previous vision at the end of chap. 19. There, in a clear moment in the midst of his agony, he had briefly let his faith conquer his anxiety, and realized that his "redeemer", the God with a mind to justice whom he had once known, was still "alive" and that one day he, Job, would "see" him, be it only after his death, and he would no longer be a "stranger" but on his, Job's, side.[11] Job, like Abraham in Genesis 18:27 "presuming" (New English Bible) to speak with God on behalf of Sodom and Gomorrah, despises himself in "dust and ashes". Abraham feared that he might have gone too far. Job knew that he had; and he is full of remorse that he had not come sooner and more fully to such knowledge of God. But surely his chief feelings must have

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11 This famous passage has been Christianized almost beyond recognition (and perhaps, alas, beyond recall) by the juxtaposition, in the ravishing soprano aria from Handel's Messiah, of the already tendentious rendering of the Authorized Version with words from 1 Cor 15:20. For my own view of the difficult Hebrew see my commentary, 149ff., where I stress the very different connotations which "redemption" words carry in the Old and in the New Testament; only once in the Old Testament (Ps 130:8) is such a word specifically brought into connection with sin.

been of joy, because he had at last seen his *Gō'ēl*, his Kinsman, his Redeemer, coming — and coming in this life — to his rescue, coming to clear his name against all those who had wanted him to despise himself in a very different kind of way; and he had heard him say that he was there by his side fighting with and for him in the cause of goodness and justice. Job's words in 42:5, understood in their Old Testament context, show that, in spite of being convicted — and deservedly so — of hubris, he feels himself at that moment to have been vindicated in his long and bruising quest for justice. They constitute the "happy ending" to this book that really matters. Job at least does not require the public proclamation of 42:7.

But there is still one very important dimension of Yahweh's second speech which I have not sufficiently emphasized. Simply to say that God is master of the forces of evil is not enough. Indeed, the speech does not spell this out, but ends abruptly with God's admission (41:25-26 = English 41:33-34) that there is no one like Leviathan upon earth, a creature that knew no fear as he lorded it over "all the sons of pride". (Incidentally, Martin Luther must be alluding to 41:25 = English 41:33, and indeed to the whole of the Leviathan chapter, in his description of the Devil in his famous *Ein' feste Burg*; I quote from Carlyle's rendering:

> That ancient prince of hell
> Hath risen with purpose fell;
> Strong mail of craft and power
> He weareth in this hour;
> On earth is not his fellow[12]

The great Reformer, it seems, knew better than many of today's commentators Leviathan's true identity.)

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12 *Auff Erd ist nicht sein Gleichens.* Unfortunately the rendering of 41:25 (=English 33) in Luther's Bible is not the same, and I have found nothing to back up my suggestion in such studies of Luther's hymnology as I have had access to. But, in view of the reference to "mail" a couple of lines earlier, I do not withdraw it; I would, however, welcome an authoritative opinion from a Luther scholar.

There is also the, to our ears, uncomfortable verse (40:15) that begins the description of Behemoth: "Behold, Behemoth, which I made as I made you." In its characteristically rugged fashion the Old Testament is not afraid to have God admitting responsibility for creating evil. Even more intriguing, and more perturbing, is the description a few verses later (40:19) of Behemoth as the "first of the works of God", a description that, from its close parallel in language with Proverbs 8:22, seems to be putting evil on a par with wisdom as a kind of primordial force or principle. Both evil and wisdom were implicated in God's creation of the universe and, by inference, are implicated in his continuing governance of it.[13] Taken together with the fact that chapters 40 and 41 do not mention an open victory of God over Behemoth and Leviathan, but simply describe them as they are in their full horror and savagery, these passages must be drawing attention to the Herculean task God faces in controlling these fierce creatures of his in the here and now. They are in fact set forth as worthy

13 It should be pointed out that to say that God "created" evil and assigned it a (supervised) place in his scheme of things is not the same as saying that God is responsible for every discrete evil happening. I am indebted to F. Lindström's recent acute study, *God and the Origin of Evil: A Contextual Analysis of Alleged Monistic Evidence in the Old Testament* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1983) for clarifying my own thinking on this contentious issue. Lindstrom courageously (and, in my opinion, successfully) attempts to overturn what he terms "a dominant consensus within Old Testament research", the thesis namely that "the Deity was held to be the immediate author of all evils affecting both the individual and the nation of Israel as a whole." None of the well-known passages (including Job 1:21 and 2:10), which have been appealed to in support of this thesis, proves on investigation to be able to bear the weight placed on it; and, in particular, none is shown to be incompatible with a relative dualism of the sort I am arguing for in this paper, whereby Yahweh can be thought of as sovereign in all things and yet be seen to be at the same time in constant and bitter (even, as yet, unresolved) conflict with evil powers. Could it be the frequent association of such "evil powers" with mythical entities like Leviathan that has led Old Testament scholarship to play down their importance and to set forth Hebrew monotheism as though it were something not far short of pancausality?

opponents of their Creator. They are quite beyond the ability of men to take on and bring to book. On the contrary, they treat men with scorn and derision, delighting to tease and humiliate and terrorize them. But even God has to watch out for them and handle them with kid gloves. It takes all his "craft and power" to keep them in subjection and prevent them from bringing to nought all that he has achieved. As the second half of 40:19 (rendered rather freely) puts it: "He who made him (Behemoth) has to keep his sword unsheathed!"[14]

It is of this divine risk as well as of the divine grace and power that Job is, in my view, being given an intimation in Yahweh's second speech: of the terrible reality of evil and (as Job himself was now only too well aware) of the dangers it presents to men but, above all, of the frightening problem it poses to the God who in his wisdom — or should we say, in his folly? — built it into the fabric of his creation at the beginning of time and must often have wished since that he hadn't. And it is when Job realizes not only that God is on his side, and on the side of suffering and protesting humanity, but that God has a battle on his hands and a fierce and relentless foe to subdue before he can fully redress his, and their, grievances and heal his, and their, wounds — it is then and only then that in the midst of life's on-going turmoil the erstwhile Prometheus finds himself strangely at peace.

I have time for only one brief postscript: it is to suggest that the Satan of the Book of Job's first two chapters is also, like Behemoth and Leviathan, a figure of evil. This may not be immediately apparent if we restrict ourselves to the context of the folk-tale from which these two chapters are

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14 Literally, "Let him who made him bring near his sword!" Also noteworthy in this regard are the verses already alluded to in note 8 above (41:2-3 = English 41:10-11), which probably originally referred to Yahweh's reluctant respect for Leviathan. See also 41:17 = English 41:25, which should probably be translated, "When he (Leviathan) lifts himself up, the (very) gods are afraid"; we may compare the scene in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle (*KTU* 1.2.I) where the gods in assembly are struck with terror at the approach of *Yammu's* embassy.

taken. In that context the Satan operates as little more than an extension of Yahweh, representing that side of divinity which for whatever reason visits affliction on men. That is no doubt why he does not reappear in the epilogue in chap. 42, which also belonged originally to the folk-tale. In other words, the whole folk-tale centres on the humble acceptance by Job of his sufferings as God's will; it would not do if those for whom it was intended were even remotely tempted to use the Satan's presence in the heavenly court as a means of letting God escape his responsibility. The simple piety which informs the folk-tale is not concerned with matters like that. But the author who wrote the intervening chapters from 3 to 41 was most decidedly concerned with such matters; and he may have wished his readers to invest the colourful scenes in Yahweh's court with a more sinister thrust. Indeed, he may have *expected* his readers to do so; for the finished Book of Job is later than the folk-tale, and it is not unlikely that by the time it was written the character of the Satan was undergoing a change, that he was on the way to becoming what he became in the late Old Testament and intertestamental periods, not *the* Satan, a (relatively) loyal member of Yahweh's retinue, but Satan *simpliciter*, a deposed "son of God" now turned into God's opposite and the archetypal tormentor of mankind. If that is the case, then his readers would suspect from the outset that Job was not primarily God's victim, but evil's and they would be alerted to see in Behemoth and Leviathan, when they appeared on the scene, the Satan's *alter ego*, figures like him of an evil which, rather than God, was the substantive cause of Job's tragedy. It took Job himself — and is, it seems, taking

today's commentators — much longer to find that out.[15]

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15 It was some remarks by Northrop Frye (who is, perhaps significantly, a critic of English Literature and not a Biblical scholar) that led me to add this postscript (which will, of course, require further scrutiny). In his *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (London: Routledge, 1982) he writes: "The poetic kernels out of which they (the two monsters) developed may have been the hippopotamus and the crocodile .... But this is as irrelevant as any other rationalizing ... Behemoth and Leviathan are metaphorically identical with Satan" (191, 194). Frye also speaks more precisely of the monsters as respectively a land-monster and a sea-monster, and in connection with the first (Behemoth) of the underworld and death. He is thinking here of the use of the names Behemoth and Leviathan in Jewish apocryphal writings like 1 Enoch 60: 7-9 and 2 Esdr 6:49-52 (cf. the two monsters of Rev 13:1, 11) to denote apocalyptic powers, a use which does not seem to depend on the Book of Job but to derive independently from the popular mythological sources which its author and other Old Testament writers had earlier had access to. Mary Wakeman (in the book mentioned in note 2) takes a similar line and develops it in some detail; her thesis is that, as Leviathan is equivalent to the Ugaritic *Yammu* ("sea"), so must Behemoth be equivalent to the Ugaritic *Môtû* ("death"), these being the two great primordial forces with which, in the Baal Cycle, *Ba'lu* has to do battle. It is a seductive thesis which, if applied to Yahweh's second speech, would introduce a further dimension of powerful meaning, that of Yahweh's constant warfare on behalf of mankind against death; see for a comparison between the conceptions of death at Ugarit and in the Old Testament my article "The Last Enemy", *SJT* 32 (1979) 151-169. There is a whole area here which merits fuller investigation; but meanwhile it may be circumspect to enter a plea of "not proven" and to be content with a metaphorical link between both beasts and evil in general.

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ISRAEL IN THE SONG OF DEBORAH

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In contributing to this memorial volume to the late lamented Professor Craigie I have selected a study in the song of Deborah, which revives precious memories of many stimulating hours in our post–graduate work together in the University of Aberdeen, where Peter left a very distinctive impression both on staff and students. If we differed in the extent to which the *whole* of Judges 5 was a war–song, as Professor Craigie maintained, I was much indebted to him for forcing me to a tighter defence of the view that the proper celebration of the military action is limited to vv 19ff., being touched upon in the honourable mention of the exploit of Zebulun and Naphtali in the field of battle in v 18, with which the roll–call of the sacral confederacy in the renewal of the Covenant after the defeat of Sisera fittingly culminates. On this view vv 2-17 is liturgical, though reflecting the euphoria of the recent victory, and only vv 19ff. is a war–poem.

Our thought was orientated in this direction by a paper read by Arthur Weiser at the meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study in Glasgow in 1955, when we had the opportunity of discussing his interpretation at some length. On that occasion and in his subsequent publication[1] Professor Weiser took as his point of departure the phrase *bipĕrōaʿ pĕrāʿôt* in the opening couplet, rendering "when the flowing hair was let loose," which might be supported philologically by Num 6:5; Ezek 44:20 and possibly Deut 32:42, where Num 6:5 refers to the unshorn hair of nazirites and Ezek

[1] A. Weiser, "Das Deboralied," *ZAW* 71 (1959) 67-97.

44:20 to that of priests. Weiser cited an elaborate hair–do with ritual significance in liturgical texts from Mesopotamia. In the formative stage of ancient Israel *bipĕrōaʿ pĕrāʿôt* might refer rather to the hair unshorn as a token of dedication in war or in the cult, as in Num 6:5 and Ezek 44:20, understanding the verb as cognate with Arabic *faraġa* ("to be free, unrestrained"). In the case of the nazirite this, as well as having a ritual significance, signified a reversion to the more primitive past.[2] If *pĕrāʿôt* in Deut 32:42 is from the same root the reference would be to the long hair of consecrated warriors.. In Judg 5:2, if the phrase means "when the flowing hair was let loose" and has a present significance, it would refer to the renewal of vows of the sacral community (*hāʿām*), as Weiser contended. If, however, the phrase, as may be, has a past significance it would refer to the hair unshorn in token of vows and volunteering (*hitnaddēb*) for the recent campaign. The phrase would have the same significance if, as Professor Craigie suggested,[3] the verb *pāraʿ* were cognate with Arabic *faraġa* in the sense "to be free from, devote one's whole attention to something" and in the Xth form "to spend oneself in a great effort." This would be a more literal parallel to *hitnaddēb* in its more frequent meaning, though in view of the unshorn hair as a token of consecration, hence of total commitment, the parallelism would still be preserved even if *bipĕrōaʿ pĕrāʿôt* had the physical sense.

The connection with *bārăkû YHWH* ("praise Yahweh") in v 2 has been questioned as possibly an independent rubric. But we find no difficulty in taking it as the last member in a short–metre tricolon, a staccato measure which is common in Judges 5. In this case the preposition may signify "because," hence J.A. Soggin's rendering:

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2 Cf. the long side–locks of the Bedouin, the loss of which was a particular disgrace exploited by Arif al–Arif, the district officer at Beisan just after the first World War, to detain captured Bedouin raiders long enough to permit rehabilitation.

3 P.C. Craigie, "A Note on Judges V, 2," *VT* 18 (1968) 397-99.

Because the people in Israel have regained liberty,
Because the people offered themselves willingly, bless the Lord![4]

If this interpretation were correct we should prefer Dr. Craigie's rendering of *bipĕrō'a pĕrā'ôt bĕyiśrā'ēl*:

Because of the total commitment in Israel.

In view of those alternatives to the meaning of this phrase, then, we consider Weiser's point of departure for a partly liturgical explanation of Judges 5 as somewhat precarious.

In introducing Judg 5:2ff. as the Song of Deborah (v 1) the editor recognizes the hymnic character of the whole and the event which made it possible for the sacral community (*yiśrā'ēl, hā'ām*) to meet and give cultic expression to their solidarity. Thus the chapter is introduced, like the hymn to Nikkal in the Ras Shamra texts by *'āšîrâ* and *'ăzammēr* (v 3), sounding a note of challenge to "kings" and "rulers" to "hear" and "give ear" (v 3), namely, to Yahweh's vindication (*ṣiděqôt YHWH*, v 11), with which the whole culminates in vv 19 ff. in the discomfiture of "the kings of Canaan" (v 19). The question which concerns us is the extent to which vv 2-18 celebrate the campaign which culminated in the victory at the Qishon. More particularly problematic is the role of the various groups in Israel in vv 13-18. But this must be discussed in the context of the formal analysis of vv 2-18.

After the call to Bless Yahweh! for, or on the occasion of, the expression by Israel, or the sacral community (*hā'ām*), of their commitment to faith in Yahweh (v 2) and the defiant declaration to "kings" and "rulers" that the poet is about to sing a psalm to Yahweh (v 3), the advent of Yahweh, God of the community is signalized (vv 4f.). In this passage the close affinity in language and conception with

4 J.A. Soggin, *Judges* (OTL; London: SCM, 1981) 81.

Deut 33:2ff., Ps 68:8f.[5] (cf. Ps 77:18f.), Mic 1:3f. and Mal 3:3ff. indicates the stereotyped expression of the liturgy. The specific reference to the Sinai theophany at the genesis of the sacral community, probably consisting of the Rachel group and Qenite, Qenizzite and Yerahmeelite confederates, reflects the theological difficulty for the nascent Israel of a God who was specifically attached to a certain locality being present with his community in new localities and of the validity of his worship at new cult sites.[6]

The attendant circumstances of the theophany are described in vv 4c-5b, where we would read:

'ereṣ rā'āšâ
gam–šāmayim nāṭāyû[7]
gam–'ābîm nāṭĕpû mayim

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[5] This affinity is generally recognized. We may note the advent of Yahweh of Sinai (*zeh sînay*, v 5), the theophany in earthquake, or thunder, and rain (vv 9 f.), the hill of God, probably Tabor (cf. Ps 89:13), the rival of the hill of Bashan, i.e. Hermon (vv 16f.) and the mention of Zebulun and Naphtali, with Benjamin alone of the tribes of north Israel (v 28). S. Mowinckel (*Der achtundsechszigste Psalm* [Oslo: Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps–Akademi i Oslo, 1953]) regarded Psalm 68 as a development in the liturgy of the Jerusalem Temple from the liturgy of the sanctuary of Tabor in the time of Saul, when Benjamin, as in Psalm 68, held pride of place. This view is accepted tentatively by A. Weiser (*Die Psalmen* [7th ed.; ATD 14/15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966] 333) and more positively by H.–J. Kraus (*Psalmen* [4th ed.; BKAT; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1972] 471f.).

[6] This is reflected in the question of the presence of Yahweh when Israel was about to leave Sinai (Exod 32:34; 33:10-16, J). Seir in v 4 is specifically North Sinai (Josh 11:17), which the Edomites, earlier consolidated than Israel (Gen 36:31), had claimed until the reign of David, a claim revived in the reign of Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:7), where Sela' is west of the Wadi Araba, as indicated in Judg 1:36.

[7] Retaining MT *nāṭāyû* with the Targum, but as cognate of Arabic *naṭaw* ("to be wet"), cf. LXX^{L} *etarachthē* ("were convulsed") and LXX^{A} *exestathē* ("were dislodged"), which indicates a reading *nāmōṭû* (cf. Ps 46:3).

hārîm nāzōllû[8]
mippĕnê YHWH zeh sînay
mippĕnê YHWH ʾĕlōhê yiśrāʾēl,

The earth quaked,
Yea, the sky was laden with water,
Yea, the clouds dripped water,
The mountains were convulsed
Before Yahweh Lord of Sinai,
Before Yahweh God of Israel.

Earthquake or the sensation caused by the rumbling of thunder (cf. Exod 19:16, 19, J) is commonly associated with the theophany of Yahweh in the Sinai tradition in the cult in the settled land (Ps 68:8; 77:19; Hab 3:6). The rest of the passage, however, might refer topically to the sudden flash floods from Carmel which swelled the Qishon when:

The stars in their courses fought against Sisera,[9]
The torrent of Qishon headed him off.

But this is not the only possibility. Violent rain is the concomitant of the thunder associated with the epiphany of Yahweh in the psalms we have just cited. Thunder and the rainstorm also marked the advent of Baal in the Ras Shamra myth concerning the building of the "house" of Baal at his apogee in the storms of autumn inaugurating the season's agriculture (Gordon *UT* 51 V 68-71 [=*KTU* 1.4 V 6-9]):

wn ap.ʿdn.mṭrh	Moreover the time for his rain
bʿl.yʿdn.	Baal is appointing,
ʿdn.ṯrt.[10] *bglṯ*	The time for moisture with deluge[11]

8 Accepting the reading *nāzōllû* ("were convulsed") with LXX, the Syriac and Targum for MT *nāzĕlû* ("flowed down"), we restore what we believe to be an intended chiasmos in vv 4c, d, e, 5a.

9 The stars are the source of rain in the Ras Shamra myth *UT* ʿnt II 41 (=*KTU* 1.3 II 41).

10 Reading *ṯrt* for *ṯkt* ("barque") of the Ugaritic text.

11 Taking *glṯ* as cognate of Hebrew *gālaš*, e.g. Cant 6:5:

wtn.qlh.bʿrpt	And the utterance of his voice[12] in the clouds.
šrh.larṣ.brqm	For the release[13] of lightning-flashes to the earth.

More explicitly Baal's enthronement is associated with thunder and deluge in the fragment RS. 24.245 (=*KTU* 1.101):

bʿl.yṯb.kṯbt.ǵr	Baal took his seat as firmly as a mountain,
hd.r(ḥ)b kmdb.	Even Hadad, large as the sea,[14]
btk.ǵrh.il ṣpn.	The god of Saphon in his mountain-massif
b(tk) ǵr.tliyt.	In the mountain-massif of his power.
šbʿt.brqm ( )	Seven lightning-bolts ( ),
ṯmnt.išr rʿt.	Eight bundles of thunder-bolts,[15]

A fragmentary passage in the same text refers to deluge from the sky (*glṯ bšm(m)*) and moisture (*ṯr*). Thus we consider it likely that the theophany of Yahweh in Judg 5:4cde and 5a represents the sublimation of the traditional theme of the enthronement of Baal at the autumn festival in Canaan in the advent of the Israelite God of Sinai at a Palestinian sanctuary, probably at Tabor,[16] the boundary sanctuary of the groups Zebulun and Naphtali and probably also Issachar, to

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śaʿrēk kĕēder hāʿizzîm
šeggālĕšû min-haggilʿād,
Your hair is like the flock of goats
streaming down from Gilead.

12 Lit. "the giving of his voice."

13 Taking *šr* as a verbal noun cognate with Aramaic *šĕrā'* and Arabic *śaray* (IInd form), "to send away."

14 *mdb* is parallel to *ym* as a measure of extent in *UT* 52:34f. (=*KTU* 1.23:34f.)

15 Cf. Job 36:33: *yaggîd ʿālāyw rēʿô* ("His thunder announces His coming"), reading *ʿelyô* for MT *ʿālāyw* .

16 On the early sanctity of Tabor see O. Eissfeldt, "Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung," *ARW* 31 (1934) 14-41.

the liturgy of which we refer the Song of Deborah. If, however, the actual *Sitz im Leben* of Judg 5:2ff. was, as we believe with Weiser, the first celebration of this festival after the exploit of Zebulun and Naphtali at the Qishon, when it was possible to assert the solidarity of the ten groups named in vv 14-18 as the sacral community (*ʿam YHWH*), or Israel (vv 2, 3, 13b), the traditional theme of the theophany in thunder and deluge may well have been more than an oblique reference to the rainstorm which Zebulun and Naphtali exploited so effectively at the Qishon.[17]

Next follows a statement of the straits to which the sacral community was reduced "from the time of Shamgar ben Anath to that of Jael."[18] which serves to enhance the relief effected by the victory at the Qishon. The caravan trade through the Plain of Esdraelon, in which Zebulun and Issachar were so profitably engaged (Deut 33:19), was interrupted, as was possibly communication between the various groups of the sacral community, who could no longer express their solidarity in worship or in military action (v 6c, d and possibly 7a, b, 8c, d), where v 8 a, b poses a problem, for which various textual solutions have been proposed, MT reads:

yibḥar ʾĕlōhîm ḥădāšîm
ʾāz leḥem šĕʿārîm.

Literally this would mean:

One chose new gods,
Then bread (or "warfare") the gates.

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17 This normally small stream is quickly swollen in rain–storms by flash floods from the wadis of Carmel. The mud–laden flood put chariotry at a hopeless disadvantage in the marshy ground which welled up by the low basalt ridge like a dam (perhaps "the high places in the open country" of Judg 5:18). By such a flood Sisera was "headed off" rather than "swept headlong away," a sense attested for the verb *qiddēm* in Job 3:12, of the supporting knees on which a child is laid.

18 As feasibly proposed by Weiser ("Deboralied," 76) for the literal "In the days of Shamgar ... in the days of Jael ...."

For this obviously corrupt text the ancient versions give little, if any, help, and conjectural emendation is the natural resort. The various proposals depend upon agreement with what precedes and what follows in MT. Thus Budde, reading *pĕrāzîm* for MT *pĕrāṣôn* in v 7a, and understanding it as "peasants," or inhabitants of open villages, *pĕrāzôt* (Ezek 38:11; Zech 2:8), proposed:[19]

zibĕḥê ʾĕlōhîm ḥādĕlû
āzal leḥem śĕʿōrîm,
God's sacrifices ceased,
Barley bread was spent.

This would give a good parallel between the due of God and the daily food of men, and, taken together with v 8c, d, would denote destitution in peace both in the secular and sacred spheres and in war. On the other hand coherence with the theme of weakness in war until the exploit inspired by Deborah is secured by the conjecture of Zapletal adopted by Hertzberg:[20]

bĕḥûrê ʾĕlōhîm ḥērĕšîm
ʾāzal leḥem baššĕʿārîm,
Deaf were the young warriors of God (sc. to the call to arms),
At an end was war (sc. warlike exercises) at the gates.

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19 K. Budde, *Das Buch der Richter* (KHCAT 7; Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr, 1897) 42. The reference to the leadership of Deborah indicates that in MT *ḥādĕlû pĕrāzôn bĕyiśrāʾēl* the subject is personal. This was understood in LXX, which read *rōzĕnîm* ("rulers") for MT *pĕrāzôn*, which is graphically feasible in the palaeo-Hebrew script. Thus Sellin, Weiser and recently Soggin assume a contrast between the inactivity of the ruling classes and Deborah's effective leadership. But, if MT *pĕrāzôn* is not to be retained as a collective singular agreeing in sense with *ḥādĕlû*, we would assume scribal corruption of an original *pārāzîm*, "champions in single combat," cognate with Arabic *barrāz* (so *NEB*).

20 H.-W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth* (2d ed.; ATD; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959) 171.

Closer to MT, Weiser proposed:[21]

yibḥar 'ĕlōhîm ḥădāšîm
'āz (or mē'āz) 'ĕlōhîm lō' śĕ'ārûm.
They chose new gods,
Gods which they had not known of old.

This recalls Deut 32:17f.:

yizbĕḥû laššēdîm lō' 'ĕlōah
'ĕlōhîm lō' yĕdā'ûm
ḥădāšîm miqqārōb bā'û
lō' śĕ'ārûm 'ăbōtêkem,
They sacrificed to demons who were no gods,
Gods whom they did not know;
They resorted to new gods (adopted) from their neighbours,
Which your fathers had not known.

Weiser related this to the element of abasement and confession in the renewal of the Covenant. Direct evidence for this convention is late, e.g. Psalm 50, but indirect evidence seems to be indicated in the tradition of the Divine contention (*rîb*) with His people in the pre–Exilic prophets (e.g. Amos 2:9ff., Isa 1:2f., 10-12; 3:13-15; Jer 2:2-37), where they are indicted for infringement of the Covenant relationship,[22] which entailed upon them all manner of sufferings, cf. Deut 32:15ff. and the detailed curses on the broken Covenant in Deut 27:15-26, which may have been developed from an earlier tradition in the renewal of the Covenant in the sacral community in the pre–Monarchic period, as Weiser proposed. When all this is said, however, even if we accept Weiser's most feasible reading of the text, with which

21 Weiser, "Deboralied," 75.

22 A. Wurthwein ("Der Ursprung der prophetische Gerichtsrede," *ZTK* 49 [1952] 1-16) and S. Huffmon ("The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," *JBL* 78 [1959] 285-95) emphasized the centrality of the infringement of the Covenant obligations in the prophetic indictment, relating it to a cultic *Sitz im Leben* in one of the great festivals, the renewal of the Covenant, to which we would relate Psalm 50.

NEB[23] agrees in purport, it must be admitted that a confession of apostasy in the Covenant sacrament would be expected before rather than in the middle of vv 6-8. Thus, if Weiser's reading of v 8a, b is correct it may mean no more than the threatened disintegration of the sacral community, particularly on the part of those groups in vv 15d-17 either not yet fully committed or weak in their allegiance. The poet next notices[24] the leaders of the community in v 9:

libbî lĕḥôqĕqê yiśrā'ēl
hammitnaddĕbîm bā'ām

For MT *ḥôqĕqê* C.J. Ball is probably right in reading *mĕḥôqĕqê*. The same form of the word is found in the blessing of Jacob in Gen 49:10 denoting a ruler from the tribe of Judah. It is also used as a synonym of the Divine ruler (*šōpēṭ*) and king (*melek*) in Isa 33:22, but in Israel of the 12th century B.C. it would denote the notables by whose decision matters were arranged, such as for instance the digging of a well in the desert in the Song of the Well in Num 21:18:

bĕ'ēr ḥăpārûhā śārîm
kārûhā nĕdîbê hā'ām
bĕmô ḥōqēq[25] *bĕmiš'ānōtām*
ûmimmidbār mattānâ
The well that the princes unearthed,
Which the nobles of the people dug,
Marking it out with their staves,
A gift from the desert.

While we reject MT *mĕḥōqēq* as a noun in this context, we find it a good example of the operation of direction or decision, which was the function of *mĕḥōqĕqîm*. We notice the

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23 "They consorted with demons," reading *śĕ'îrîm*.

24 Lit. "My heart is to ...," the heart being the seat of cognition to the ancient Hebrew.

25 For MT *bimĕḥōqēq*, taking *ḥōqēq* as a verbal noun.

word used like *śārîm* ("princes") and *mōsĕkîm bĕšēbeṭ* ("those who hold the staff," sc. of office) in Judg 5:14 f. The Song of the Well is significant for our understanding of *hammitnaddĕbîm* in Judg 5:9, which we understand as those who truly proved themselves leaders of the community, like *nĕdîbê 'ammô* in Ps 113:8 and *nĕdîbîm* as heads of the community in 1 Sam 2:8; Ps 83:12; 107:4 — Job 12:21; Ps 118:9 and Prov 8:16, where their function is the administration of justice. Thus in Judg 5:9 we would find no reference to leadership or volunteering in war, but to the notables of the various groups of the sacral community who convened the assembly for the renewal of their solidarity on a cultic occasion after the battle of the Qishon. Hence we translate v 9:

> I notice the leaders in Israel
> Who proved themselves nobles among the people.

We regard v 10 as referring to the journey of gentle ("those who ride on tawny asses")[26] and simple ("those who walk on the road"). Nötscher[27] conjectured a festival procession in vv 9-11. We think that this is premature, but that v 10 refers rather to the journey to the assembly. They are called upon respectively to "lay to heart,"[28] i.e. ponder upon, and "meditate upon" the theme which was the topic of song and jubilation throughout the land, namely Yahweh's vindication (*ṣiděqôt YHWH*) of His purpose and His people in the recent battle (v 11):

> *miqqôl měḥaṣĕṣîm bên maš'abbîm*
> *šām yĕtannû ṣiděqôt YHWH*
> *ṣiděqôt pārāzāyw bĕyiśrā'ēl,*

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26 Cf. the families of the minor judges Jair (Judg 10:4) and Abdon (Judg 12:14).

27 F. Nötscher, *Das Buch der Richter* (2d ed.; Echter Bibel; Wurzburg: Echter, 1955) 23.

28 Reading *yāšîbû 'al-libbām* for MT *yōšĕbê 'al-middîn* ("who sit on carpets / saddle-cloths"), as indicated by *śîḥû* in the parallel colon.

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> By the voice of those singing antiphonally at the watering-places[29]
> Where they repeat in response[30] Yahweh's acts of vindication,
> The vindication of His champions[31] in Israel.

In v 12 Deborah and Barak are addressed directly. This seems like an interjection between v 11d:

> *'āz yārĕdû laššĕ'ārîm 'am–YHWH*
> Then the people of Yahweh came down from the settlements (lit. the gates),

and vv 13 ff., which begins *'āz yĕrad*, for which we should probably read the perfect *yārad*. But the reference may be to "the people of Yahweh" in general, of whom Deborah and Barak are first mentioned before the enumeration of the various groups in the sacral community severally in vv 13ff. represented by their men of substance (*baggibbōrîm*). MT *yārĕdû*, however, may be a jussive perfect, as in Ugaritic and Arabic or the jussive *yērĕdû*, thus corresponding to the imperatives in v 12:

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29 The drawing of water has suggested women's work and the emendation of *mĕḥaṣĕṣîm* to the feminine participle. But, retaining MT *mĕḥaṣĕṣîm*, we understand the drawing of water to be not for domestic purposes, but for the watering of flocks in the open country through which the pilgrims pass. The verb, meaning literally "halving," may mean either distributing the water from wells into stone troughs or shedding of various flocks or of sheep and goats, as we have often observed at the midday watering of flocks by Arab shepherds. But the parallel *yĕtannû* ("repeat in response") indicates antiphonal singing, again employed by Arabs to alleviate heavy or monotonous work.

30 See the previous note. The verb has a cognate in Ugaritic with this meaning.

31 Reading *pārāzāyw* for MT *pirĕzōnô*, see above n. 19.

ʿûrî ʿûrî dĕbôrâ
ʿûrî ʿûrî dabbĕrî[32] *ʿāśîr*[33]
qûm bārāq ûšĕbēh
šōbêkā[34] *ben ʾăbînōʿam*
Rouse thyself, rouse thyself, Deborah,
Rouse thyself, lead thy train of captives,
Arise Baraq and lead captive
Those that would have taken thee captive, thou son of Abinoam.

Here we may note that the particular mention of the various groups and personalities in vv 12-18 is headed by the leaders Deborah and Baraq and ends in *occlusio* with the honourable mention of the protagonists Zebulun and Naphtali.

From v 14 to v 17 the ten groups which constituted the sacral confederacy are severally cited. Here we would agree with Weiser that there is no reference to the participation in the campaign of any but Zebulun and Naphtali in v 18, which would accord with the prose account of the campaign of Barak and Deborah in Judges 4. The ten groups are cited in a kind of roll-call. Some were present, like Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Zebulun, Issachar and Naphtali; others, who for various reasons were unable to be present, were nevertheless cited, thus preserving the ideal solidarity of the sacral community. There may be a note of reproof in the notices of Reuben, Dan and Asher, but good reason for their absence was probably admitted, especially in the case of Reuben in Transjordan, exposed as they were, like their neighbours Gad (MT Gilead) in Gilead (Gen 49:19), to

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32 Taking the verb as a denominative verb cognate with Arabic *dubr*, "back," cf. Hebrew *dĕbîr*, the inmost shrine or back part of a temple, cf. *dōbĕrôt*, "towrafts" of timber, 1 Kgs 5:23.

33 Reading *ʿāśîr* for MT *šîr*, assuming haplography of ʾ after *y* in the palaeo-Hebraic script. This is supported by *šōbêkā* (see n. 34) in the parallel colon.

34 Reading *šōbêkā* (with the Syriac versions supported by Isa 14:2) for MT *šebyĕkā*, "thy captives" (collective), which is possible.

raiders from the desert to the east. In support of this interpretation with reference to an assembly of the sacral community rather than to the campaign against Sisera we may notice the double mention of Zebulun (v 14d) and Naphtali (for MT "Issachar" in v 15b)[35] in addition to the honourable mention of Zebulun and Naphtali with specific reference to the campaign in v 18, which leads to the psalm proper in celebration of the victory in vv 19 ff. In vv 13-15 it is not the groups as a whole which are mentioned, but the notables who represented them, "men of substance" (*gibbôrîm*), "directors" (*měḥōqěqîm*), "those who hold the staff" (*mōšěkîm běšēbeṭ*) and "princes" (*śārîm*)[36] and particularly Deborah, who represented Issachar (v 15a) and Barak representing Naphtali. Further support for the view that vv 13-17 does not refer to participation or non–participation of the ten groups in the campaign against Sisera, but to their representation at the assembly of the sacral community is lent by the mention of Ephraim before Benjamin in an enumeration which is directed generally from south to north. This surely indicates the hegemony of Benjamin's northern neighbour Ephraim, the original nucleus of Israel, in the sacral community (*ʿam YHWH*, v 11d) rather than in the campaign, which is explicitly mentioned as exclusively the exploit of Zebulun and Naphtali under Barak and Deborah (Judg 4:6; 5:18).

On this assumption we turn to the complicated text of vv 11d-18, which we present as follows:

ʾāz yērĕdû laššĕʿārîm ʿam–YHWH
ʿûrî ʿûrî dĕbôrâ
ʿûrî ʿûrî dabbĕrî ʾāšîr

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35 This is a conjecture unsupported by any ancient version, but it would be odd that Zebulun should be mentioned twice in vv 14-18 and Naphtali only in v 18, which does not belong properly to the citation of members of the sacral community. Moreover Baraq was from Naphtali (Judg 4:6).

36 Reading *wĕśārê* for MT *wĕšāray* with the Targum.

qûm bārāq ûšĕbēh
šōbĕkā ben 'ăbînō'am

Then let the people of Yahweh come down[37] from[38] the settlements.[39]
Rouse thyself, rouse thyself, Deborah,
Rouse thyself, rouse thyself, lead thy train of captives;
Arise, Baraq and lead captive
Those that would have taken thee captive, thou son of Abinoam.[40]

After the apostrophe to the community as a whole and to Deborah and Baraq the gathering of the various members of the community through their representatives is described:

'āz yārad[41] *yiśrā'ēl*[42] *bĕ'addîrîm*[43]
'am YHWH yārad-lî[44] *baggibbôrîm*
Then down came Israel represented by the nobles,

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37 Since the arrival of the members of the sacral community is not described until vv 13 ff. we prefer to read the imperfect jussive here, either emending to *yērĕdû* or treating MT *yārĕdû* as the perfect jussive as in Arabic, in agreement with the imperatives in the call to Deborah and Baraq.

38 Regarding *l* as the preposition "from" as in Ugaritic and frequently in early Hebrew poetry.

39 Lit. "from the gates," synecdoche.

40 As in *dabbĕrî ... dĕbôrâ* we understand a word–play, so in the citation of Baraq's father there is possibly a double entendre, "father of favour," alluding to Baraq's manifest *baraka*.

41 Reading *yārad* for MT *yĕrad* in agreement with the perfects in the statements about the other groups of the sacral community in vv 15d-17.

42 Conjecture for MT *śārîd* ("survivor," possibly a collective singular), from which *yiśrā'ēl* differs little in the palaeo–Hebraic script. This is supported by the synonymous parallel *'am–YHWH*.

43 Assuming scribal corruption of MT *lĕ'addîrîm* in the proto–Hebraic script in agreement with the parallel *baggibbôrîm*.

44 Assuming the corruption of *ô* to MT *y* at a stage of the script represented by the Qumran texts.

The people of Yahweh came down to Him in the person of the men of substance.

The groups are next mentioned by name:

minnî 'eprayim śārîm bā'ām[45]
'aḥărāyw[46] *binyāmîn bĕ'ammāyw*[47]
minnî mākîr yārĕdû mĕḥōqĕqîm

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45 For MT *šoršām ba'ămālēq* ("their root [is in] Amalek"). The only significance that "Amalek" might have in the context is that the MT is the scribal corruption of a war–cry of Ephraim, perhaps *šārāšûm ka'ămālēq* ("Eradicate them like Amalek!"); cf. the inveterate enmity of Israel to Amalek in the time of Saul of Benjamin and Samuel of Ephraim, remembering the hostility of Amalek to the nascent community in Sinai (1 Sam 15:2), the Battle of Refidim being the first trial of the new community in arms, traditionally under the Ephraimite Joshua (Exod 17:8 ff.). But the mention of representatives of the various groups in vv 14c, d, e and f prompts our reading.

46 Assuming scribal corruption to MT *'aḥărêkā binyāmîn ba'ămāmêkā* ("After you Benjamin, your kinsmen!"), *'aḥărêkā* being a scribal corruption of *'aḥărāyw* in the palaeo–Hebraic script and *'ămāmêkā*, if not a broken plural, a corruption by dittography of *'ammêkā*. If, however, MT on Ephraim conceals the war–cry of the group, it would be tempting to consider *'aḥărêkā binyāmîn* as a similar slogan, as Hos 5:8 suggests, an allusion to Benjamin, with Ephraim the militant element in nascent Israel, and particularly to their role as long–range slingers (Judg 20:16) and shock troops, which probably determined the advancement of Saul as the first king of Israel, a war–lord and head of a permanent striking force, cf. their militant character in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:27). More particularly the slogan may have arisen in the initiative of Benjamin against the Moabites and the support from Ephraim after Ehud's first bold stroke (Judg 3:12ff.). The citation of the various tribes with mention of incidents in their history or in the Blessings of Jacob and Moses would support the view of slogans in the citation of Ephraim and Benjamin in v 14, but in view of the mention of representatives of other groups in the context we prefer the interpretations we have adopted.

47 We take *'ammîm* in the sense of heads of clans, as in Arabic usage, cf. Gen 25:8, a tribal ancestor, or as a term of respect for elders, again as in Arabic.

ûmizzĕbûlūn mōšĕkîm bĕšēbeṭ[48]
wĕśārê[49] *yiśśākār*[50] *'im dĕbōrâ*
wĕnaptālî bĕnô[51] *bārāq*
bā'ēmeq šullaḥ[52] *bĕraglāyw,*

From Ephraim (came down) the princes among the people,
After them Benjamin represented by their headmen;
From Machir came down the directors,
And from Zebulun those who hold the staff (of authority),
And the princes of Issachar with Deborah,
And Naphtali with their (famous) son Baraq;
Swarmed after them into the valley.

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48 MT *sōpēr* has been suspected as a later gloss ("the staff of the scribe"). It might, however, possibly be defended, signifying "the musterer" (so *NEB*), cf. the *sōpēr* concerned with conscription in 2 Kgs 25:19. In early Israel it might refer to fitness for military service as a qualification for membership of the sacral community which was determined by local headmen. *šēbeṭ* of itself would indicate seniority and authority, and so we would omit MT *sōpēr*.

49 So the Targum for MT *śārāy* (*bĕyiśśākār*).

50 Omitting the preposition of MT as a dittograph of *b* before and after *y* in the proto-Hebraic script.

51 This is a pure conjecture for MT *wĕyiśśākār kēn bārāq*. *NEB* "And Issachar stood by Baraq" seems to understand *kēn* as the adjective "true," cf. Gen 42:11, 19, 31, 33, 34; 2 Kgs 17:9; Prov 15:7, which would demand the preposition *l* before *bārāq*, which is not graphically feasible. More so would be *ûkĕyiśśākār kēn bārāq* ("and as Issachar so Baraq"). But as Issachar has already been mentioned and Naphtali is the only group omitted in MT in vv 14-17 until the second mention of Zebulun in v 18, *yiśśākār* is almost certainly a scribal error for *naptālî*, especially as Baraq was from Naphtali (Judg 4:6), which our reading recognizes, assuming the scribal corruption of *b* to *k* in the last stage of the development of the alphabet. In addition we assume the double duty of the preposition *'im* in the parallel colon, as regularly in Ugaritic poetry.

52 If this is an independent colon without a parallel rather than a bicolon where the parallel has been omitted by scribal error, the subject of the singular verb *šullaḥ* must be *'am YHWH* of v 13. Our translation "swarmed" is suggested by Syriac *šēlḥā'* for a swarm of bees in Judg 14:8.

Also named but not represented fully, if indeed at all, are Reuben, Gilead (or Gad), Dan and Asher:

bipĕlaggôt rĕ'ûbēn
gĕdôlîm ḥiqĕrê-lēb[53]
lāmmâ yāšabtā bên hammišpĕtayim
lišmōa' šĕrīqôt 'addārîm[54]
gil'ād bĕ'ēber hayyardēn šākēn
wĕdān[55] *yāgûr 'ănîyôt*
'āšēr yāšab lēḥôp yammîm
wĕ'al miprāṣāyw yiškôn

Among the clans[56] of Reuben
There were great heart-searchings.
Why did you sit between the converging fold-walls[57]

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53 So for MT *ḥiqĕqê-lēb* after v 16 c, d, which seems like a dittograph of v 15 d, e.

54 A vocational word, for MT *'ădārîm* ("flocks"). Whistling to the flocks would be quite intelligible, as we have observed such control of flocks by Arab shepherds. But more likely we should understand warning whistles by the herdsmen.

55 Omitting MT *lāmmâ* with two Hebrew MSS, the Targum and Vulgate.

56 Our translation of *pĕlaggôt* is suggested by 2 Chron 35:5. The word may also mean possibly "waterchannels," *palĕgê-mayim* of Ps 1:3, cf. Isa 30:25; Job 20:17, not natural streams in the high plateau occupied by Reuben, but troughs or channels in which water was distributed to the flocks. *NEB* "factions" is also philologically possible.

57 As *mišpĕtayim* indicates, this is a dual feature, which Eissfeldt ("Gabelhürden im Ostjordinland," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 25 [1949] 9-11) identified with corrals, sheepfolds with long converging entrance walls in the desert marches of Transjordan, to facilitate quick corralling of flocks in raids. The same word is taken by Eissfeldt to refer to the geographical location of Issachar in the bottleneck of the hills of south Galilee and Gilboa in the Blessing of Jacob in Gen 49:14. The feature is depicted in the Early Egyptian Dynastic palette of Narmer, where two Semitic enemies of the Pharaoh flee naked, one from a walled redoubt and the other from a circular corral with converging entry-walls (*ANEP*, 296).

To listen for the whistling of the herdsmen?
Gilead remained settled beyond Jordan,
And Dan remained inactive;[58]
Asher stayed by the seashore
And remained settled by his bights.[59]

Though reasons for the absence of those groups may have been admitted, there is still an element of rebuke, their inactivity contrasting with the response of Zebulun and Naphtali, who were not only represented in the assembly (v 15a, b, c), but by risking their lives in battle had made the expression of solidarity possible (v 18):

zĕbūlûn ʿam ḥērēp napšô lāmāwet
wĕnaptālî ʿal mĕrômê śādeh
Zebulun was a folk which held their life cheaply, risking death,
And Naphtali on the high places of the open country.[60]

In the Deuteronomistic History and in what we believe to have been earlier collections of traditions of the settlement in Josh 2-11[61] and Judg 3:7-16:31[62] from the early Monarchy it is assumed that the settlement was effected by all Israel in-

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58 Cf. *UT* Krt 212 (=*KTU* 1.14 IV 48): *gr an.ʿrm*, "he tarried, remained inactive at the town," where we take *an* as a scribal corruption of *nn*, assuming dittography of one of two short horizontal strokes, and as cognate with Arabic *ʿāna* ("to be at ease"), which De Vaux accepted, *Histoire ancienne d'Israël II* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1973) 91. See further later in our discussion.

59 Lit. "breakings, gaps," like the mouth of the River Namin near Akko or indentations in the rocky coast to the north.

60 *śādeh* has the connotation of "battleground" in Josh 8:24; 2 Sam 10:8; 11:23; 18:6. See further our discussion above.

61 M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT; 2d ed.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1953) 12f.

62 K. Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel* (Giessen: J. Ricker, 1890) and most later scholars, e.g. W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch* (BBB 18; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1963); *idem, Die Bearbeitungen des "Retterbuches" in der deuteronomischen Epoche* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1964).

cluding Judah as an effective political force as well as a sacral community, its acquisitions being defended and consolidated under the great judges. This comprehensive view of Israel was a projection of the situation attained under David which had crystallized in the tradition of the twelve sons of Jacob–Israel in the J source of the Pentateuch, which antedated the collection of the traditions of the settlement in Joshua–Judges by perhaps half a century or less.[63] A critical study of the earlier sources of the pre–Deuteronomistic works in Josh 2-11 and Judg 3:7-16:31, however, seriously modifies the assumption that the Israel of those works was involved in the settlement. Here the Song of Deborah, an independent poem from the mid–twelfth century, sufficiently self–contained to be incorporated as it stood with minimal redaction, has a peculiar value. First it presents Israel as a sacral community of ten groups in the north and east excluding Judah, Simeon and Levi. Secondly in the prose account of the campaign against Sisera in Judg 4:4ff. and, as we believe, the Song of Deborah even the limited Israel of ten tribes did not — perhaps could not — any more than in the action of Gideon and his clan of Abiezer and that of Jepthah[64] participate with the groups involved, namely Zebulun and Naphtali. Thirdly on the evidence of Judg 5:11-18, even after the victory at the Qishon which made it possible to assemble to express solidarity as the sacral community (*'am YHWH*) four of the ten groups were not able, or chose not, to attend (Judg 5:14-17).

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63 A date before the rebuilding of Jericho by Ahab is suggested by the statement of Joshua's curse on the rebuilding of Jericho (Josh 6:26) and the pre–deuteronomic work in Josh 2-11 probably antedates Solomon's rebuilding of Hazor. The interest of Judg 3:7-16:31 in the local actions of groups in north Israel, with the exception of Othniel (Judg 3:7-11), and Samson, perhaps later insertions in a Judahite recension, indicates provenance from the north and, we think, before the development of the all–Israel conception of about 850 B.C.

64 Judg 8:1 and 12:1f.

If we must seriously modify the view of the conquest and settlement of the land by Israel presented in the Deuteronomistic history and its early Monarchic sources, there seems no reason to reject the impact in Palestine by a virile group which had found its impetus to solidarity and action in its commitment to the exclusive worship of Yahweh expressed in simple terms of faith and a social ethic, the obligations of a covenant by which the group had been constituted as distinctively the People of Yahweh, at whose sanctuary it had effected solidarity with other worshippers of Yahweh, the Qenites, or Midianites[65] (Exodus 18), and possibly the Qenizzites and Yerahmeelites. This is surely the militant group which penetrated the hill country of Ephraim,[66] which we understand as originally a geographical term, "the well-wooded country,"[67] after which the group was eventually named. The dynamic significance of Ephraim both in war and in attracting other groups to the worship of Yahweh may be reflected in the tradition of the warlike Joshua, an Ephraimite, of Josh 2-11 and the covenant which he mediated according to Josh 24. The significance of Ephraim in the growing sacral community is clearly indicated in Judg 5:11-17, where, though the ten groups are cited generally from north to south, Ephraim is cited *before* its southern neighbour Benjamin.

The name Benjamin ("son of the right hand"), may refer to Benjamin as the southernmost group in the sacral community of ten groups, but it probably reflects its position relative to Ephraim and the close association of the two groups, which Pentateuchal tradition derived from Jacob

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65 We take Qenites as an allusion to smiths from Midian who worked the copper ores of the Arabah.

66 Significantly the traditions of J and E associate Ephraim the son of Joseph with Egypt, the prelude to the Covenant at Sinai.

67 This is suggested by the description of Shechem as "in the hill-country of Ephraim" (Josh 20:7), whereas Josh 17:2, 7 states that it was in the tribal territory of Manasseh.

through Rachel. Solidarity between the two groups was regularly expressed and fostered at the boundary sanctuaries of Gilgal by Jericho and Bethel and found political expression in the association of Samuel of Ephraim and Saul of Benjamin the first king in Israel.[68]

In Judg 5:11-17 after Benjamin and before Zebulun and Issachar the group Machir is cited (v 14c). This group is subsumed under Manasseh in the Deuteronomistic representation of Israel in Josh 17:1, the association of which with Ephraim the early narrative sources of the Pentateuch recognize in regarding Manasseh and Ephraim as sons of Joseph, the uterine brother of Benjamin (Gen 48:22-26), both elements of Joseph being recognized in the blessing of Moses (Deut 33:13-17). When we seek more critically for the origin of Manasseh we are in the realms of conjecture. In the eventual settlement recognized in Joshua 17 Manasseh was settled north of Ephraim from the district of Shechem northwards to the south part of the Plain of Esdraelon and beyond Jordan. An ancient settlement of Manasseh east of

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68 Eissfeldt ("Der Geschichtliche Hintergrund der Erzählung von Gibeas Schandtat," *Kleine Schriften II* [Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1963] 64-80) found the historical nucleus of the tradition of the Benjaminite war in Judg 19-20 in the assertion by Benjaminite Gibeah and the neighbourhood of independence from Ephraimite dominance. In this incident the contending parties were Ephraim and Benjamin. In view of the independent status of Benjamin in the sacral community in Judg 5:14-17, *c.* 1150 B.C. and the depletion and near elimination of the group in Judg 20:44ff., when, according to K.–D. Schunck (*Benjamin. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Geschichte eines israelitischen Stammes* [BZAW 86; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1963] 69ff.), they lost their independence, the event might be dated either long before 1150 B.C. or soon after when the growing power of Benjamin encouraged the assertion of independence of their more powerful neighbour Ephraim. Against the latter view might seem to be the fact that it was from Benjamin and indeed from Gibeah that Saul emerged as first king in Israel. But it was on the initiative of Samuel of Ephraim that Saul was invested with this authority as commander of a striking force at the strategic point of resistance to Philistine penetration to the plateau north of Jerusalem, and in effect he shared power with Samuel. However this may be, Judges 19 attests the close relationship between Ephraim and Benjamin.

the lower Jordan is indicated by the tradition in Joshua 22 of the altar recognized by them, Reuben and Gad, which, whatever the Deuteronomistic adaptation, suggests a boundary sanctuary of those three groups. This early settlement of Manasseh may be supported by the Pentateuchal tradition that Manasseh was the elder brother of Ephraim though of secondary importance in the blessing of Joseph (Gen 48:13ff.). This tradition may reflect the circumstances of the penetration of central Palestine by the Joseph group, one element of which, Manasseh, was able, or content, to settle east of the lower Jordan while the other was obliged, or determined, to push westwards over Jordan, where it assimilated local inhabitants of the hill country to become Ephraim and eventually the dominant group in the sacral community. However this may be, it is significant that Manasseh is not mentioned in the Song of Deborah, but Machir.

Machir is specifically mentioned in connection with Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah in Josh 17:3, of which Mahlah and Hoglah are mentioned as places in the fiscal ostraca from Samaria (*c.*750-725 B.C.), which probably related to produce from royal estates in the neighbourhood of Samaria.[69] From Judg 5:14 we may conclude that Machir was earlier than Manasseh a recognized group in the sacral community Israel, settled in the district later associated with Manasseh between Ephraim and Zebulun and Issachar.[70]

The proximity of Machir to the trade routes past Taanach, Megiddo and Ibleam in the district of the later Manasseh (Josh 17:11) indicates that the group may have been originally *ḫabiru* before the emergence of Israel em

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69 S. Birnbaum, "Inscriptions," *The Objects from Samaria* (Samaria–Sebaste III, ed. J. W. Crowfoot, G.L. Crowfoot and K.M. Kenyon; London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957) 9-25.

70 The tradition of half the Machirites in northern Transjordan (Josh 13:31) may reflect migration from the west, cf. Elijah "among the settlers in Gilead" (1 Kgs 17:1), *mittōšābê gil'ād.*

ployed, like the *ḫabiru* of the Amarna Tablets, as hirelings or mercenaries, as the name Machir means, by the Canaanite city–states Megiddo, Taanach, Ibleam and Shechem, perhaps as armed escorts for caravans.

A similar origin is indicated in the name Issachar ("hireling"), settled in the east part of the Plain of Esdraelon, where the hills of central Palestine occupied by Machir and later Manasseh approach those of Galilee occupied by Naphtali and Zebulun like converging fold–walls of a corral (*mišpětayim*)[71], including Mount Tabor. Both the geographical situation and the menial status of Issachar are implied in the blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:14ff.):

> Issachar is a gelded ass
> Crouching between the converging fold–walls ...
> He bent his back to the burden
> And submitted to forced labour.

Besides the possible employment of the forebears of Issachar in the convoy of goods along the trade routes through the Plain of Esdraelon, they may have been the *ḫabiru* which Egyptian records of the 14th century notice as recruited as serfs on lands in this region depopulated by Egypt after the suppression of native revolt.[72] Issachar then may feasibly be taken to have originated as underprivileged persons, *ḫabiru*, who like others of this class in Palestine were attracted by the success and social ethic of the Rachel group, the nascent Israel, which offered them for the first time a status in the land independent of the Canaanite city–states and their rulers.[73]

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71 See above n. 57.

72 A. Alt, "Neues über Palästina aus dem Archiv Amenemophis IV," *Kleine Schrifte III* (München: C.H. Beck, 1959) 169-75.

73 This view of the growth of Israel has been elaborated by G.E. Mendenhall, "The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine," *BA* 25 (1962) 66-86, and is supported by excavations at Tirzah (Tell el–Farah) and Shechem, the district of Machir, which show no evidence of destruction of the Late Bronze strata that would correspond with a new settlement in the early Iron Age (R. De Vaux, "Tirzah," *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*

Zebulun was contiguous with Issachar in the west part of the Plain of Esdraelon and with Machir to the south and extended to the western foothills of southern Galilee. They were thus, like Machir and Issachar settled about the nexus of trade routes between Egypt and Mesopotamia and from the Phoenician seaports including Akko, to which the blessing of Moses on Issachar and Zebulun refers (Deut 33:19):

> They shall suck the abundance of the seas,
> And draw out the hidden wealth of the sand,

So Zebulun like Issachar may have originally been *ḫabiru* employed by the city–states of the region to transport or convoy merchandise along the trade routes. The name, in its extant passive form meaning "exalted," may be adapted from an active participle of the verb *zbl*, which means in Hebrew "to exalt" but in Arabic "to take up, carry." This valuable service may have permitted them the unmolested use of their sanctuary of Tabor, noticed in Deut 33:19:

> They shall summon nations to the mountain,
> Where they will offer true sacrifices.

This sanctuary may have served as a safe deposit for goods in transit and have been the place where pledges were given and agreements made between the leaders of convoys and their employers. Eventually a boundary sanctuary between Issachar, Zebulun and Naphtali when those groups had attained status in the sacral community Israel, it was a suitable rallying point for Zebulun and Naphtali in their opposition to Sisera (Judg 4:6ff.), where a considerable gathering might not have attracted undue suspicion among the Canaanite cities round the plain.

Naphtali, the neighbour of Issachar and Zebulun to the north, may also have originated as *ḫabiru* in the convoluted hill country of Upper and Lower Galilee, Naphtali being a

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[ed. D.W. Thomas; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967] 376ff.; G.E. Wright, *Shechem* [New York: McGraw–Hill, 1965] 101f.).

Niphal formation from the verb *pātal* ("to plait, intertwine"). This might account for the Pentateuchal tradition that Naphtali was the son of Jacob by the slave–girl of his wife Rachel (Gen 30:7f.). Relevant to the emergence of Naphtali in the sacral community is, we consider, Aharoni's regional survey of archaeological sites in the hills of Galilee, which attested a fairly thick settlement of new village sites at the end of the late Bronze Age and the beginning of the early Iron Age, and in the squatter settlement of the ruined late Bronze Age city of Hazor *c.*1225 B.C.[74] This may be connected with the *'prw* (Akkadian *ḫabiru*) mentioned by Seti I in his stele from Bethshan as active in "the hills of Yarmuth,"[75] which may be Remeth in Issachar (Josh 19:21). We do not suggest that the great fortress of Hazor was destroyed by direct attack, for which the new village settlers would be ill adapted. It was more probably destroyed after a defeat of its forces in the open country at the Waters of Merom, evidently as a result of a surprise night attack when the enemy hamstrung the chariot horses (Josh 11:6f.). This may have fostered a consciousness of community which was recognized by the association with the groups Zebulun and Issachar at Tabor as a boundary sanctuary and a military potential which was realized together with Zebulun in the campaign against Sisera.

With Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Zebulun, Issachar and Naphtali in Judg 5:12-15 we find an effective sacral community ready to identify with the exploit of Zebulun and Naphtali, if not in the actual local emergency, at least in assembly to renew their solidarity and celebrate Yahweh's vindication (*ṣiděqôt YHWH*, Judg 5:11) of His purpose and His people. What then of the groups Reuben, Gilead, Dan and Asher on whose inactivity Judg 5:15-17 animadverts?

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74 Y. Aharoni, "Problems of the Israelite Conquest," *Antiquity and Survival II* (The Hague and Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Department of Antiquties, Israel Exploration Society, 1957) 142-50.

75 *ANET*, 255.

Of those Gilead, Dan and Asher may have been, like Machir, Zebulun, Issachar and Naphtali local *ḫabiru*, who only recently had been attracted, and then only partially, to the sacral community Israel, but owing to pressure of local circumstances were not able to declare themselves openly in the assembly. If those groups originated as *ḫabiru* or pre–Israelite Canaanites of the lowest class it is not to be supposed that local response to the attraction of the sacral community would have been unanimous, and would in any case vary according to the control of the ruling classes.

The local Canaanite identity, apart from affinities with Israel, of the group Gilead of Judg 5:17 and of Asher, like that of Naphtali seems to be indicated by the geographical significance of the names.

The extent of Asher in Josh 19:26, 29 on the narrow coastal strip from Achzib southwards to the Nahr Zerqa suggests that Asher is the name primarily of a district rather than an ethnic term, recalling the place–name Asaru in the Egyptian Papyrus Anastasi I (late 13th century B.C.). As suggested by Arabic *'asr* ("tube"), it might denote a long restricted area. Asher's reputation for producing "royal dainties" in the blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:20), though from the early Monarchy, might reflect the situation in the pre–monarchic period when the forebears of Israelite Asher were tolerated by the city–states of the coast as cultivators, like the *ḫubšu* in the Amarna Letters of Ribaddi of Byblos (Knudtzon, 77:36; 5:12; 125:27 etc.). Again the reputed descent of Asher from Jacob through Leah's maid suggests the pre–Israelite origin of the group and their status as a social group like their neighbours Zebulun, Machir and Issachar, who found a new status in the community of worshippers of Yahweh under the initial impetus of the Rachel group.

Like Asher and Naphtali Dan was reputedly of concubine extraction (Gen 30:5f.), hence relatively lately included in the sacral community and probably not yet effectively in the time of the Song of Deborah. Whatever the origins of the

group, Dan was eventually settled in the northwest as the neighbours of Naphtali, conditions which, according to Mowinckel,[76] prompted the Pentateuchal tradition that Dan was the uterine brother of Naphtali by Jacob and Rachel's maid Bilhah. Before their settlement in northwest Palestine Dan had, of course, been in the foothills of Judah in the north of the Shephelah (Josh 19:40-38; Judg 18:11ff.) before they migrated under the pressure of the Amorites (Judg 1:34) or, we think more probably, the Philistines. Here they were the neighbours of Ephraim, by whose influence they may have been first attracted to faith in Yahweh. From Judg 5:17 it is not clear if Dan was yet settled in the north. But the citation of the groups in a general northward direction indicates that Dan had already settled there.

In animadverting on the absence of Dan from the assembly of the sacral community Judg 5:17 poses a problem. Here we have preferred the meaning "remained inactive," *yāgûr ʾănîyôt* for MT *yāgûr ʾŏnîyôt*, on the evidence of a phrase in the Krt text from Ras Shamra,[77] but admit that *yāgûr bāʾŏnîyôt* ("sojourned by the ships") is possible, assuming the omission of the preposition *b* in the MT by haplography after *r* of *yāgûr* in the palaeo–Hebraic script. Nötscher[78] took this to refer to the exploitation of men from Dan in ships at the port of Jaffa; Täubler,[79] citing the supply of his subjects as dockers at Jaffa by a Canaanite ruler in the Amarna Tablets (Knudtzon, 294:18ff.), thought of seasonal employment of young Danites from Laish/Dan in the ports of Tyre and Sidon or in the transport or escort of merchandise to and from those ports, which might involve temporary

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76 S. Mowinckel, *Israels opphav og eldste historie* (Oslo: Universitets forlaget, 1967) 157.

77 See above, n. 58.

78 Nötscher, *Richter*, 24.

79 E. Täubler, *Biblische Studien I. Die Epoche der Richter* (ed. H.J. Zobel; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1958) 91f.

residence there, as Solomon's work force spent one month in Lebanon and two at home (1 Kgs 5:14). The place that Dan occupies in the list of groups in Judg 5:14-17 makes Täubler's view more likely than that of Nötscher. Here we may notice Yadin's thesis that the origin of Dan was as Danuna, one of the Sea Peoples like the Philistines, which had made common cause with the sacral community Israel in the Shephelah.[80] In itself this is not entirely impossible, given the view of Mendenhall, to which we subscribe, that the growth of Israel and her eventual occupation of Palestine was a process of attraction to the faith and egalitarian social ethic of the Rachel group Ephraim and Benjamin.[81] We note here again the association of Dan in the Shephelah with Ephraim and the symbiosis of the group with the Philistines in the Samson tradition (esp. Judges 14).

With Gilead, if MT is correct, of Judg 5:16 we have the designation of a group in the sacral community by district, like Ephraim, Asher and Naphtali. This may denote the wider community of non–Israelites in Transjordan who were only gradually drawn into the sacral community. In later lists of the sacral community (e.g. Gen 49:19; Deut 33:20f.) and in Pentateuchal tradition this group is termed Gad. The tradition of their descent from Jacob by a concubine, together with the name Gad ("Good Luck"), which is probably the hypocoristicon of a compound with the divine name (cf. the god Gad in Isa 65:1), suggests that this group was only late attracted to "the people of Yahweh." Thus their absence from the assembly in Judges 5 may indicate that the process of integration was not yet complete. Moreover those in this region who were attracted to the sacral community Israel lived, like Reuben, somewhat precariously exposed to raids from the steppes to the east, as the blessing of Jacob indicates (Gen 49:19):

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80 Y. Yadin, "And Dan, Why Did He Remain in Ships?," *AJBA* 1 (1968) 9-23.

81 See above, n. 73.

Gad is raided by raiders,
And he raids them from the rear.

In the blessings of Jacob and Moses Reuben was a small (Deut 33:6) and relatively ineffective group (Gen 49:4), evidently once settled west of the lower Jordan, as is indicated by "the Stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben" south of Jericho (Josh 15:6; 18:17). This does not suggest that the settlement of Reuben was so extensive north of the Arnon and east to the plateau as Josh 22:10ff. depicts. The absence of Reuben from the sacral assembly in Judg 5:15d-16b is conditioned by their preoccupation with the security of their flocks, for which, as in the first half of this century, folds with converging entrance walls (*mišpětayim*)[82] were constructed. This indicates the insecurity of a scattered minority group, which possibly induced Reuben, Gad and Manasseh east of the lower Jordan to draw together for mutual protection with a common cult place, reflected in Josh 22:9f. In this passage the actual situation is obscured by the priestly redaction, but the controversy over the amphictyonic sanctuary may suggest that the absence of "Gilead" and Reuben from the assembly of the sacral community after the battle of the Qishon was owing largely to their prior allegiance to their local alliance. There may well be a reference to divided counsels in Judg 5:15d, e:

bipělaggôt rĕ'ûbēn
gĕdôlîm ḥiqĕrê lēb

We may reasonably assume similar divided counsels among the other communities Gilead, Dan and Asher of Judg 5:17.

Patriarchal tradition from the early monarchy (J and E) recognizes four elements in Israel, the descendants of Jacob/Israel by his wives Leah and Rachel and those from his concubines Zilpah the slave girl of Leah and Bilhah the slave girl of Rachel. The tradition of the favour shown to Joseph and particularly to Ephraim and the close association of

82 See above, n. 57.

Benjamin and Joseph indicates the dynamic of the Rachel group in their impact on Palestine and the development of the sacral community, and this corresponds to the priority of Ephraim and Benjamin in that order in Judg 5:14-17. As the youngest of Jacob's sons by his wives they may reasonably be regarded as the most recent arrivals in Palestine of the eventual sacral community Israel in Judg 5:14-17 and as bearers of the faith of Yahweh in the tradition of Sinai, which was to be the unifying factor in such a community. With the Rachel group, particularly Ephraim, Dan must be considered though reputedly of concubine extraction. Dan's descent from Jacob through Bilhah the slave girl of Rachel may reflect the early attraction of this community to the new faith represented by Ephraim, their neighbours in their earlier settlement in the northern part of the Shephelah. We have noticed the feasible view of Mowinckel that the tradition of the same origin for Naphtali arose after the settlement of Dan in their neighbourhood in northwest Palestine, though on the evidence of Judg 5:18 Naphtali had achieved identity as an active member of the sacral community, probably after the fall of Hazor, and had expressed solidarity with Zebulun and Issachar at their boundary sanctuary of Tabor, where they rallied with Zebulun against Sisera (Judg 4:6).

The significance of boundary sanctuaries in promoting the growth of the sacral community in Palestine cannot be over emphasized. We may doubt the original influence of Yahwism in the solidarity of Zebulun, Issachar and Naphtali at Tabor, and it may be that the sanctuary was appropriated for Yahwism not long before the occasion celebrated in the Song of Deborah. It may well be that it was the novelty of the cult there which explains the absence of Reuben, Gad/Gilead, Dan and Asher. Of equal importance is the role of the Rachel group, Ephraim and Benjamin, particularly the latter. They were associated in the cult at Gilgal, the significance of which is recognized in the pre–Deuteronomistic account of the settlement in Josh 2-8, and at Bethel, the occupation of which by "the house of Joseph" is noticed in Judg 1:22; cf. 2:1. Ephraim was also involved in relations with

their northern neighbours, Machir of the Song of Deborah, at the boundary sanctuary by Shechem, the importance of which is reflected in Joshua 24. This passage, though redactional in the Deuteronomistic History, may retain the historical tradition of a decisive stage in the growth of the sacral community, when the amphictyony of Tabor, namely Zebulun, Issachar and Naphtali and possibly representatives of Asher and Dan joined Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Reuben and Gilead/Gad, as De Vaux suggested,[83] and the unity of the groups cited in Judg 5:14-17 was at least notionally affected.

If, as we consider on the evidence presented, Israel of the ten groups listed in Judg 5:14-17 had attained coherence still more ideal than effective, how did this relate to the Israel of which the stele of Merneptah of about a century earlier declared:

> Plundered is Canaan with every evil;
> Carried off is Askalon,
> Seized upon is Gerar,
> Yenoam is made a thing not existing,
> Israel is desolated,
> His seed is no more?[84]

The listing of towns Askalon, Gerar and Yenoam from south to north seems to justify us in locating Israel, which is noted with the determinative for "people" rather than a locality, in the centre or north of Palestine. More precisely the mention of Israel after Yenoam may indicate their association with the north rather than the south of Palestine.[85] Since, however,

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83 De Vaux, *Histoire ancienne d'Israël I* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1971) 613f.

84 *ANET*, 378.

85 Against the menace to Bethshan of Hamath and Pahel, either Hamath beyond Jordan on the lower Yarmuk or Tell al-Hammeh, *c.*10 miles south of Bethshan and Fihl east of Bethshan beyond Jordan, Yenoam may be at Kh. Bab al-Munṭar, *c.*, 15 miles ENE of Bethshan and half a mile west of Jordan, rather than in the Huleh region as J.A. Wilson has suggested (*ANET*, 253 n. 7).

Israel in the stele was a group of people rather than a locality, it is impossible to be more precise. But this does not exclude a community with some political potential, whose cult centre was Shechem, where according to the tradition in the earliest narrative sources of the Pentateuch Jacob's group and the local inhabitants reached a *modus vivendi* (Gen 33:19f.).[86] The name of the cult place *'ēl–'ĕlōhê yiśrā'ēl* is the first tangible evidence of Israel as a self–conscious group in the land and the name of the cult place seems to indicate an agreement between worshippers of the Canaanite God El and the God of Aramaean nomads (cf. Deut 26:5), who penetrated Palestine through north Transjordan to swell the numbers of *ḫabiru* in the land. This situation may be recognized in the Pentateuchal tradition of the older as distinct from the younger sons of Jacob, the Leah group as distinct from the Rachel group which penetrated Palestine perhaps about two centuries later.

The patriarchal tradition in J and E recognizes a number of sanctuaries, those at Shechem, Bethel, Mamre by Hebron and Beersheba, and, while it associates them with an individual family, their real significance was probably that of sanctuaries where various groups met and made agreements on common sacred ground, as we should expect of groups not yet sedentarised. Besides the sanctuary of El–elohey–Israel by Shechem, such a sanctuary was probably that east of the lower Jordan which served Reuben and Gad of the Leah group and Manasseh regarded as of the Rachel group (Josh 22:9ff.). Our view that Zebulun and Issachar, which Pentateuchal tradition regards as of the Leah group, were vocational terms "porters" and "hirelings" in the Plain of Esdraelon, does not exclude the possibility that they were Aramaean intruders, *ḫabiru* in the estimation of the city–states

86 This is confirmed, despite the tradition of the violence of Simeon and Levi, which is represented as a violation of existing relations, by the absence of evidence of destruction of Shechem between the end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Age. See above, n. 72.

of the region, and the significance for them of the sanctuary of Tabor may go back to this time.

To be sure the Pentateuchal tradition of the twelve tribes of Israel as the sons of Jacob is obviously artificial, reflecting the unification of the state, both Israel and Judah, under David. But it may contain as a germ of historical fact the consolidation of groups of *ḫabiru* including the Leah group. If we are right in seeing a connection between the recognition of the sanctuary of El–elohey–Israel by Shechem in Gen 34:18-20 and Labaiyah's admission of *ḫabiru* in the Amarna period those may have been perhaps first known as Israel, to which the Merneptah stele refers a century and a half later. The precise significance of this earlier Israel is not known, though we may infer from the Merneptah stele that it had a certain political potential, and here we recollect the employment of *ḫabiru* by the rulers of Canaan in their power struggle in the Amarna period and particularly the statement of Jacob in Gen 48:22 that he took *šĕkem ʾeḥād* from the Amorites with his sword and with his bow.[87]

However this may be a new force was introduced by the later arrival of those known traditionally as the Rachel group, themselves once *ḫabiru* in Egypt who had escaped and found new identity as worshippers of Yahweh at Sinai, impinging eventually on Palestine to serve themselves heir to and revitalize the earlier Israel and to attract other *ḫabiru* to find independence of the Canaanite city–states and a new social dignity as an expression of the worship of Yahweh. From Judg 5:14, however, we may conclude that the sacral

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87 The significance of *šĕkem ʾeḥād* is uncertain. If *ʾeḥād* means "one" *šĕkem* would be a common noun, perhaps meaning "choice piece," as the shoulder of a sacrificial victim (1 Sam 1:4f.) but, whatever *šĕkem* may have meant as a common noun, there is obviously a reference to Shechem. Qualifying Shechem *ʾeḥād* may be the misunderstanding of an Aramaic *ʾăḥîd* ("strong," as in the Syriac Hexapla of Ezek 20:33) or an Aramaic form of Hebrew *ʾăḥuzzâ* ("possession," esp. property). This view of Jacob's acquisition of property at Shechem, however, is modified by the tradition that he *bought* the land (Gen 33:19).

community of the ten groups of the north and east was still a goal ideally rather than effectively attained in the middle of the 12th century B.C.

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AN EXPERIMENT IN MILITARISM

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I

The histories of ancient Israel and ancient Judah are bound up with military matters. It is as true of these countries as it is of most others in early antiquity. The dominant concern for defence, conquest, army organization, local administration for military purposes were as common in state affairs in early antiquity as are inflation, social programmes, taxation and the health of the currency today. This being the case, it is surprising that few, if any histories of these ancient countries have dwelt at length on military matters.[1] Most "Histories of Israel" have been old-style narrative reconstructions dependent mainly upon extant texts fortified by some archaeological information.[2] "Military histories" of Israel and Judah are virtually non-existent, and those that approach this genre are more popular than scholarly in their orientation. In the 1950's Richard Gale offered his survey entitled "Great Battles of Biblical Histo-

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[1] The exception to this is the material on Egypt. However, major studies in military history, such as H. Delbruck, *History of the Art of War within the Framework of Political History* trans. W.J. Renfroe (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1975), begin with the Persian period as a prelude to the study of war in the classical world.

[2] Certainly this description fits the standard histories of Israel published in the past few decades, such as the works by Bright, Herrmann, Jagersma, Soggin and the anthology compiled by Hayes and Miller.

ry,"[3] and the impressive two-volume "Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands"[4] by Yigael Yadin was published in the 1960's. In the late 1970's Mordechai Gichon and Chaim Herzog brought out "Battles of the Bible."[5] Also in the 1970's an anthology appeared in Israeli Hebrew entitled "The Military History of the Biblical Period."[6]

These works, though helpful in introducing the subject, suffered from some defects. The first is that their scope was too general. They appealed not so much to an academic as to a wide public audience. The style of presentation was therefore descriptive. Secondly, all of them to my understanding were written by military personnel and therefore betray all the tendencies of works from such authors.[7] These roles in themselves are not necessarily bad, but they do shape the way in which the past is seen. In most of these volumes, with few exceptions, the style is descriptive of events, the historical method is limited, and tends towards the view of history dependent upon the "decisive battle" syndrome. In some cases the conclusions were more intuitive than scientific. This is not to post blame on the authors. Military training and its product, the "military mind" carry with them their own set of

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[3] R. Gale, *Great Battles of Biblical History* (London: Hutchinson, 1958).

[4] Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* 2 vols. (tr. M. Pearlman; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963).

[5] M. Gichon, Ch. Herzog, *Battles of the Bible* (London: Wiedenfeld & Nicholson, 1978).

[6] J. Liver (ed.), *The Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem: Maarachoth, 1964) (Hebrew).

[7] Gale was commander of the British and Commonwealth Sixth Parachute Division in World War II and subsequently military commander of Palestine. Yadin was a well-known Israeli general and former Chief of Staff of the Israeli Defence Forces. Herzog, before his political career as Israeli ambassador to the United Nations and currently Israel's President, was head of Israeli Military Intelligence. The editor and contributors to the anthology on military history are all military personnel, and the volume was published by the Israeli Ministry of Defence.

assumptions about the nature of the world and the nature of history.[8] It is no surprise then that those involved in the profession of arms should see the course of history dependent upon a series of decisive battles in which that profession is practised.

There do exist several treatments of ideological themes related to warfare and battle in the Old Testament period. Among this collection are von Rad's classic study of the "Holy War Tradition"[9] in ancient Israel, which has spawned a series of both supportive and critical studies of the topic. Von Rad's study, the value of which is not to be underestimated, is a systematization and reconfiguration of elements in the text of the Old Testament presented as a "tradition (also "ideology" and "institution"), and traced throughout the historical course of the Old Testament. It is description, not interpretation, i.e. it does not seek after questions of meaning, nor, in this important case, does it examine the morality of what is discussed — ritualized slaughter of an enemy's soldiers.[10]

Theological treatises on warfare in the Old Testament are few and far between, but those that do exist also suffer from similar shortcomings. Two of the important major studies of

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8 On the "military mind" see the entertaining, but disturbing, N.F. Dixon, *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence* (London: J. Cape, 1976).

9 G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965=1951).

10 Other thematic treatments cover such topics as the "divine warrior" motif in the Old Testament. See P.D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press 1975). Miller's work is a fine example of the genre of "traditio-historical studies," but it is, like von Rad's work, a systematization of thematic elements in the text, and a tracing of those elements throughout the supposed literary history of the collection. There is, however, little or no attempt to understand the full range of meanings implied by the use of such motifs at particular times and in particular kinds of literature in the Old Testament.

this type, Craigie[11] and Lind,[12] while well-written and very carefully researched and valuable, lack important features.

First, they lack a broad appreciation of the historical background of developments of warfare in the Old Testament period. This is not to say that both studies ignore history. They do not, and Lind's in particular, which is less thematic than Craigie's is conscious of the various stages of the history of Israel and Judah. But it tends to be history seen as a chronological sequence, and little more. This is much the same trend as reflected by von Rad's study. There is a sense of the given of this "history" and no attempt is made to evaluate its stages.

Second, and closely linked to the first, is a failure on the part of both to understand the broader social implications of the practice of warfare in the Old Testament. Military changes, whether in practice or in basic ideology, are reflected in other historical changes, and also are part of the cause of such changes.

Third, and again associated closely with the second, there is no attempt to differentiate between the types and genres of the literature which is produced during the historical progression, and no attempt to understand their social matrices.[13] All the literature tends to be treated at the same level, due no doubt, to both writer's relatively conservative theological position and consequent attitude to the text of the Old Testament. While there is a differentiation between psalms and prophetic statements on warfare in Lind's volume, there is no attempt to understand the

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11 P.C. Craigie, *The Problem of War in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978).

12 M.C. Lind, *Yahweh is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1980). See also the works of W. Janzen in his *Still in the Image: Essays in Biblical Theology and Anthropology* (Kitchener: Herald Press, 1983).

13 See the valuable comments on method of documentary interpretation in M.I. Finley, *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (New York: Viking Press, 1986) 27-46.

implications of the royal origin of some of the psalms when compared to prophecy found on the fringes of the social structure. This is an important element of interpretation, especially in the light of recent application of the nature of propaganda.[14]

Fourthly, and related closely to all of the above, there is a tendency to see warfare as a "concept," and the treatments stay within the ideological realm.[15] Both Craigie and Lind are trying to deal with the problem of the reconciliation of the idea of warfare in the Old Testament with the basic tenets of the Christian faith. The former's title already begs the question, for whom is war in the Old Testament a problem? Or, more correctly, for whom is war in the Old Testament this particular kind of problem? In ancient Israel it seems it became a problem when Israel lost as is seen in the outbursts in Psalms 89 and 137. But this is not what Craigie investigated. Lind's sub-title, "The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel" implies an analogy which the practitioners of warfare in ancient Israel would not recognize.[16] Von Rad's treatise is, without embarrassment, thematic and ideological, as is Miller's. As for the several studies by military scholar's they have their own peculiar characteristics and attraction.

Also common to all is a remarkable absence of two features, on the one hand it is an exposition of the nature of warfare in the ancient Near East dominated by the set-piece

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14 See recently K.W. Whitelam, "The Symbols of Power: Aspects of Royal Propaganda in the United Monarchy," *BA* 49 (1986) 166-173, and the literature there cited.

15 So much recent writing on warfare is dependent on the structure given to warfare by von Clausewitz in his classic *On War*. For him warfare is a self-contained entity, somewhat isolated from the rest of society. It is an idea, albeit with a terrible reality. Nowhere is this more clearly seen than in his treatment of the elements of strategy. Strategy is independent of other social elements except insofar as they serve the military aims.

16 See especially M.I. Finley, "War and Empire," in *Ancient History*, 67-87, esp. p. 70.

battle, and on the other a comparative study of phenomena related to the practice of warfare. The former cannot be dealt with in detail here, and in fact, needs a separate study but one must raise the question of the state of the art of war in the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age, and the appropriateness of using it uncritically as an analogy for the state of the art of warfare in the hi-tech nuclear age. When modern writers on military history are arguing persuasively that "battle," the clash of arms in a personal confrontation on a "battlefield," is now obsolete,[17] it is a moot point whether the practice of warfare in antiquity — a series of such battle-confrontations — is now relevant to any study of the modern scene. The Lord might be seen as a "shield and buckler," but it seems hardly appropriate for modern theology to liken him to a cruise missile, or the strategic defence initiative! But that is where the use of such analogies would seem to lead us.

II

This second point is important and will be pursued. Because of the limitations outlined above most of the studies have lacked a comprehensive methodological approach which will do more justice to the subject of warfare in the Old Testament period. In this paper I shall offer at least a sign-post in the direction of a better approach to the topic. The method is primarily historical. It seeks to present systematically an outline of our knowledge of warfare in this period. Theological abstractions are of no help if they do not bear some relationship to reality. First, I shall propose a thesis about the place of warfare in the history of Israel and Judah. Second, I shall propose an appropriate research model for investigating this thesis, and third, I shall give some examples to illustrate the possibilities of such an approach. Limitations of space allow for no more than an

17 See J. Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978) especially chap. 5.

outline of my proposal. It seeks to lay foundations for the systematic study of this important topic of Old Testament study.

I propose first that the questions of the military history of Israel and Judah be focused primarily on the period of the monarchy. Here, it seems, the data are far more tangible. Warfare in Israel and Judah now becomes organized to an extent never seen before or since. Secondly, I propose that the subject be examined from the perspective of the deliberate militarization of ancient Israel and Judah. The term is chosen carefully since it implies a policy in Israel and Judah which is far reaching in its consequences. Thirdly, I propose that a particular model of the militarization of societies be adopted in an attempt to examine those same far reaching consequences. The model adopted is a slight modification of T.F. Carney's (*The Shape of the Past: Models and Antiquity*) sketch of the way in which military organizations affect host societies. The advantage of such a model is that it provides a way of examining a broader range of interconnected elements. Thus it deals with items which other approaches might ignore.[18]

For a suitable definition of "militarism" I offer the following: "... a doctrine or system that values war and accords primacy in state and society to the armed forces. It exalts a function — the application of violence — and an institutional structure — the military establishment. It implies both a policy orientation and a power relationship."[19]

It is a system which is most manifest in foreign policy (usually an aggressive one), although domestic control is frequently a by-product. War is seen as a duty to either god, the country or both. It is a system which exalts heroic, wartime actions, and in which warriors hold primary

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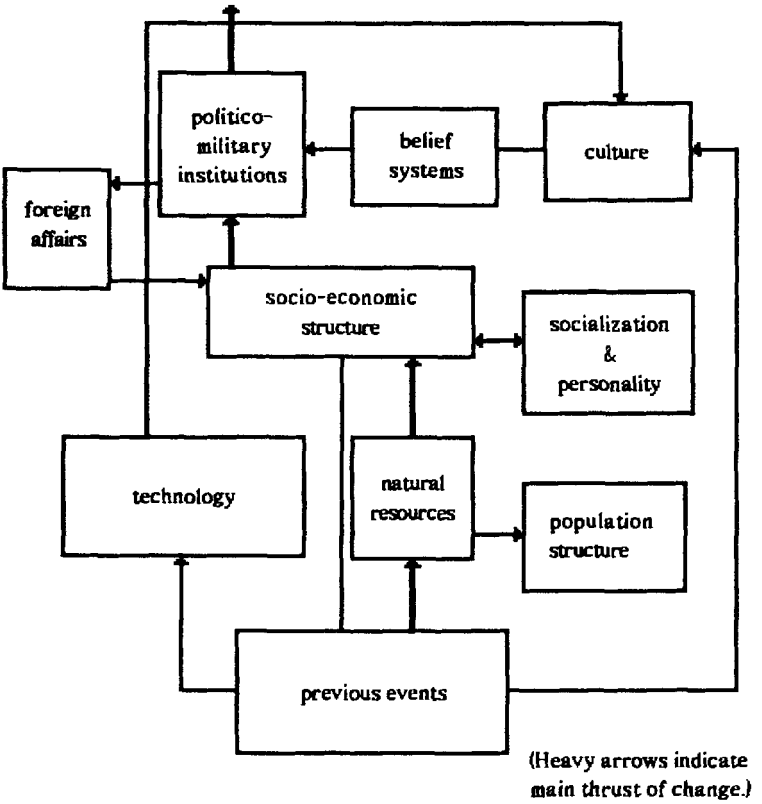
18 See the recent exposition of this approach to historical matters in Finley, *Ancient History*, especially p. 60.

19 L.I. Radway "Militarism" in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (ed. D.L. Sills; vol. 9; New York: The Free Press, 1968) 300-305. Quotation from p. 300.

positions of power. Its values are universalized by precept, symbol or ceremony, it has full control over natural resources of materiel and manpower, and there is a minimum of differentiation of military from political, economic and religious roles and goals. It is my thesis that this provides a fairly accurate description of the developments in the united kingdom of Israel, and which is frequently perpetuated in the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah. It is with the monarchy that a "standing army," i.e. an organized fighting force, with the necessary bureaucratic and logistic support, is inaugurated. Also, since this is the period in which the kings of the united monarchy, and later the kings of the divided nations, embark on an aggressive foreign policy, it is certainly worth exploring the possibilities of this model further.

I now turn to the model offered by T.F. Carney on how military organizations affect host societies. The model supplies a simple map of the social, economic and cultural implications of militarization.



How Military Institutions Affect Their Host Society

The chart provides a map of the mutual influences within a militarized society. In the first place there is an exploitation of the natural resources; secondly, there is a major change in the socio-economic structure of society; and thirdly, there is the formation of new politico-military institutions. The influences do not necessary follow in chronological order. Spin-offs from this process have far reaching effects upon the population structure; changes in the process and purposes of socialization; and an effect upon the belief system and culture which provide the symbolic underpinnings of the new regime.

The arrival of the monarchy in Israel resulted in a centralization of power and the consequent shift in the distribution of resources of materiel and manpower. A royal bureaucracy evolved in which the political, the religious and the military minor bureaucracies all have equal weight. A goal aim of this bureaucracy in terms of its foreign policy is to "...have rest from its enemies round about..." (Deut 12:10). In contrast to the tribes during the period of the Judges who tackled their enemies on home ground, the monarchy, first under David, embarked on an aggressive foreign policy of conquest of the neighbouring countries. To achieve this aim successfully, it needed a strong army, and the necessary bureaucratic support for this army. What Saul began, David furthered, and Solomon achieved was an example of what Eisenstadt has labeled the "centralized bureaucratic empire."[20]

III

The general historical matrix for the emergence of Israel in Canaan and the subsequent rise of the monarchy of Israel as a united kingdom is the transition which took place between ca. 1400 B.C. and 1000 B.C. from what is known as the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Within this period the " ... highly developed, mutually interdependent community of states,"[21] including Mycenae, Hatti, Egypt together with Mitanni, Assyria/Babylon, collapsed. The collapse had many interconnected causes such as extensive wars, possible climatic change, and a subsequent population crisis. The consequent decline of international trade led to the

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20 For a wide-ranging and valuable application of this model see S.N. Eisenstadt, *Political Systems of Empires* (New York: Free Press, 1963). It is remarkable that the one empire Eisenstadt did not choose to include in his survey was that of David and Solomon.

21 So J. Strange, "The Transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Emergence of the Israelite State," *SJOT* 1 (1987) 1-19, quotation from p. 7.

unavailability of the raw materials for the manufacture of weapons of bronze, copper, and tin. It was conditions such as these which gave rise to the "innovation" of iron making in the ancient near east.[22] Bronze, however continued to be used in many societies as a major working metal for two reasons. It could be re-used almost indefinitely, by being remelted at relatively low temperatures. Second, the development of the soft wrought iron into harder, workable metal which could replace bronze was a long process, and does not seem to have been perfected to any large degree in Palestine until the 9th or even the 8th centuries.[23]

As Gottwald has pointed out,[24] the evidence for the widespread use of iron in Palestine is scanty, although changing with the newer methods of recording finds from archaeological excavations. At present, even though the evidence for a pre-monarchical use of iron is growing, it does not seem to support the thesis that the tribal society adopted iron technology to any large degree when it "took to the hills." The appeal to the rocky nature of the terrain, made by Gottwald, as a reason for the adoption of the "harder" metal, iron, fails because early iron was not harder than bronze. It was a relatively soft wrought iron. The steeling of iron demanded higher temperatures than were possible in bronze furnaces, and a longer, more labour intensive method of production.[25] With the increasing use of charcoal for this process of hardening iron to the point

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22 For details of the transition see J.D. Muhly, *Copper and Tin* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1973) and T.A. Wartime, J.D. Muhly, *The Coming of the Age of Iron* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1980).

23 See Y. Aharoni, *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel* trans. A.F. Rainey (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983) 153-158.

24 N.K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-1050 B.C.E* (New York: Orbis Books, 1979) 656-659.

25 On the details see A.M. Snodgrass "Iron and Early Metallurgy in the Mediterranean," in *The Coming of the Age of Iron*, 335-374, and Strange "Transition," 16-19.

where it was superior to bronze, major social changes were necessary, including the "management" of wood resources. All this would suggest not a democratization of technology,[26] but rather a centralized control of that technology and its supporting resources of manpower and material.

While the evidence is not available to support completely the notion of a "state-run" iron industry in Israel and Judah, it is more than coincidence that the hard-iron industry, which would have replaced bronze as the major working metal, developed in Israel at the same time as the monarchy. With the monarchy came the centralization of power in Israel, a consequent shift in the control and distribution of manpower and material resources, and considerable social adjustment. According to 1 Sam 8:12 the development and control of the making of weapons and agricultural implements — two of the largest products of iron — were in the hands of the king.

It matters not whether this speech of Samuel is to be taken as an historical report, or whether it is an anachronistic insertion into the text from a later editor, sore at the experience of monarchy.[27] In the first case, Samuel is simply providing a picture of current despotic practices in the ancient Near East which Israel herself wishes to adopt with her appeal for a monarch; and in the second case it is a reflection on what did happen in Israel with the advent of monarchy. In either case the result is the same — a complete re-allocation of natural resources, now drawn towards the centre.[28]

The politico/military system at the heart of the developing monarchy needed a constant supply of daily provisions, weaponry and armour. It also needed workers for the manufacture and maintenance of chariots and the grooming and care of horses. In Solomon's administration large

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26 So Strange "Transition," 19.

27 On this passage see S. Talmon "Kingship and the Ideology of the State," in *Kingship and Calendar* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986) 9-38.

28 See Talmon "Kingship and Ideology," 21-26.

numbers of able-bodied men and women are seconded away from their former tasks on the land into what is essentially a parasitic organization. The cost of the import of raw materials for the manufacture of weapons, the training of skilled workmen for the same, the maintenance and care of the wagons of war, all must now come from the royal purse, i.e. the erstwhile popular resources, now channelled through the central bureaucratic pipe.

The re-allocation of human resources, has equally far-reaching effects upon society. The need for men in a standing army is crucial, and such resources need to be structured around a strong, well-trained officer corps. David has a ready-made officer corps with the remnants of his colleagues from his outlaw days, and mixed in with these is a smattering of non-Israelites — a Philistine (2 Sam 15:29), an Ishmaelite (Arab) (2 Sam 19:13), and an African (2 Sam 18:19-23) together with the later addition of a Hittite (2 Sam 11).[29] Solomon chose a slightly different route, presumably because he did not have the resources of skilled warriors David had — by now they have become too old or had died. Solomon's solution was to initiate a distinctively Israelite officer corps who were exempt from the normal duties of the labour gangs.[30] David's need for manpower is met by the census recorded in 2 Sam 22. That it met with disapproval is clear from the way in which the incident is represented in the narrative. Of Solomon's strategy we have no evidence, but the fact that he did maintain the same administrative structure as David, suggests that his methods and the methods of subsequent monarchs were not that different. The levy of locals was a common and necessary way of raising an army in the ancient Near East.[31]

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29 In the story of the unfortunate cuckold, Uriah, no indication is ever given that he is a worshipper of Yahweh. His refusal to bed his wife while "on leave" is motivated by military convention and even his oaths do not invoke the customary divine name.

30 See 1 Kgs 9:15-22.

31 On this see J.N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1974); J.M.

Although there is no record of David organizing a system of labour gangs, the system comes to full light during the reign of Solomon.[32] It is another example of the re-allocation of resources for the purposes of the monarchy, and of the tasks listed in 1 Sam 8 a large number of them are related to military endeavour.

IV

The organization of the new state was different from the organization of the tribal society which preceded it. Sociologically a clear centre of power, symbolic and actual, emerges whose values and decisions dominate the rest of society.[33] Older types of social stratification based on kinship give way to a less ascriptive social structure in which position is more dependent upon ability and skill. So it is that in the descriptions of David's and Solomon's administrative structures (2 Sam 8:15; 1 K 4:1-6) functional roles predominate — scribes, secretaries, priests, generals, judges and civil servants. The old arbiters of the covenant structures, the elders, diminish in importance and power as the monarchy progresses.[34] Restrictions governing the

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Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969) 8-9 and Papyrus Sallier in A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of their Writings* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963) 194-195.

32 On this system see N. Avigad "The Chief of the Corvee," *IEJ* 30 (1980) 170-173; A.F. Rainey "Compulsory Labour Gangs in Ancient Israel," *IEJ* 20 (1970) 191-202.

33 On the sociological application of the concept of "centre" see E. Shils "Centre and Periphery," in *The Constitution of Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972) 93-109. According to Shils, the centre "... is a phenomenon of the realm of values and beliefs. It is the centre of the order of symbols, of values and beliefs which govern the society" (93).

34 As is reflected in the incident of Rehoboam and the secession of the Northern Kingdom in 2 Chron. 11-12. See A. Malamat "Organs of Statecraft in the Israelite Monarchy," *BA* 27 (1965) 34-65.

ancestry of officials (see Deut 16-18) apply less and less, as is seen with the advent of Zadok into the Jerusalem administration. The "Old guard" who had ties to the earlier society, represented by Abiathar and Joab virtually disappear with the accession of Solomon after a bloody civil war.

Early in the monarchy foreign policy becomes a source of increasing military activity. Once the Philistine threat is dealt with during the reign of David, attention is turned to Israel's neighbours and the king invades the Transjordan, subduing Moab, Ammon and Edom (2 Sam 8:1-14). But such countries cannot be controlled easily, so they are garrisoned, removing manpower from the home front. Of course, such countries would be taxed, as was the case with Moab.[35]

Also early in the years of the divided monarchy, foreign policy entails constant warfare between Israel and Judah over the control of the lucrative "Benjamin saddle," the highway linking the coastal trunk road (the Via Maris) with the Jordan Valley and the Kings' Highway (1 K 15:16). The road passes from Gezer along the Aijalon Valley and up on the central hill country via the Beth Horons. It issues out on to the Gibeonite plateau north of Jerusalem, then via Bethel and Ai, descends to the Jordan Valley. Because of its strategic significance (Jerusalem is always vulnerable from the north) this corridor became hotly disputed, and the continuous warfare that ensued would do nothing but weaken both antagonists.[36]

The social repercussions of such changes are hinted at in the Old Testament. It is clear that already by the time of Saul a minimal form of military organization and selective recruiting is introduced. His army in the Elah Valley "lines up" for battle in battle formation (1 Sam 17:2), in contrast to

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35 2 Sam. 8:9-12. The subsequent "terror campaign" that David's army embarked upon in Edom (1 Kings 11:14-16) implies an army organized for an aggressive foreign policy.

36 On this route see T.R. Hobbs "The Land: A Neglected Feature of Old Testament Study," *Theodolite* 6 (1982) 1-20.

the mob which fought the Philistines at Ebenezer during Samuel's tenure (1 Sam 4:1-2). The army has a form of logistic support and organization of food supplies from the home base, as is seen in the purpose of David's visit and the reference to the baggage-master with whom he leaves the food. But beyond this are the serious implications of the presence of David's three elder brothers in the king's army. Such a choice of recruits seems logical, since they would be the most suitable. But with the increase in the amount of warfare as a by-product of monarchical foreign policy, comes an increase in the likelihood of premature death, permanent maiming, and a rise in the number of widows and orphans in society. An added social problem is the strain such a state of affairs would place on the traditional practices of inheritance.

The new system and its re-organization of society was resisted especially in the north. The resistance gave rise to a movement led by the prophet Ahijah and the officer Jeroboam. The issue was not only the forced labour, although that was certainly a big part of the confrontation. It appears that the "people of Israel" were exempt from the worse forms of forced labour (1 K 9:22). Deeper issues were at stake. It was a clash between the new and the old. In favour of moderation were the former covenant arbiters, the elders. In favour of enforced change were the young men who had grown up under the new system. (1 K 12:8).[37] The north seceded and an attempt to win it back was forestalled by prophetic intervention (1 K 12:21-24). In reaction to this Rehoboam consolidated his hold on the southern kingdom by the staffing of "cities of constraint" throughout Judah and Benjamin (2 Chron 11:5-12, 18-23) with trusted members of his own family. The new system was now forcibly established and maintained.[38]

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37 On this see Malamat "Organs of Statecraft."

38 Much has been written on the so-called "fortress system" of Rehoboam, and few are content to let the system remain in the reign of Solomon's son. For the latest effort at relocation see N. Naaman "Hezekiah's Fortified Cities and the LMLK Stamp," *BASOR* 261 (1986)

V

The material covered by socialization, culture and belief systems is vast, and all I can do at this stage is set out some guide-lines. Socialization is the inculcation in citizens or group members of attitudes, beliefs and behaviour.[39] In its benign form it is known as education, in its malignant form, propaganda. In a militaristic society the aims of socialization would be to encourage a favourable view of one's own society in comparison with that of one's enemy; frequently to villify one's enemy; and to give the necessary ideological (religious) support (justification) for actions carried out in the name of one's own society. Where possible institutions would be designed or manipulated to effect these goals, or existing institutions would be transformed.

Work has already been published on the redefinition of older foundational traditions of Israel by the Israelite monarchy.[40] Although the complex of ideas and motifs

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5-24, and the literature cited there. The embarrassment comes because of the absence of corroborating archaeological data for the reign of Rehoboam. However, the poor design of the so-called defence system, the absence of archaeological data, the lack of a connection with the invasion of Shishak in the text, and the vocabulary used of these sites would indicate clearly that a defence-system is not in mind. The word translated "fortified" is better translated "constraint." Each of the sites is located in one of the current administrative districts of Judah, and, as Naaman has correctly pointed out, the LMLK stamps attest to the administrative nature of the centres. The fact that the centres are staffed by Rehoboam's own sons, would suggest a police system rather than a defensive one, and the conclusion to the description "... thus he retained Judah and Benjamin" (2 Chron 11:12) would seem to clinch the matter. It is overlooked by most interpreters of these chapters that the establishment of the system is seen as a direct consequence of the secession of the northern kingdom, and not of the invasion of Shishak.

39 For a convenient treatment of the concept see K. Danziger, *Socialization* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971).

40 See R.E. Clements, *Abraham and David: Genesis 15 and its Meaning for Israelite Tradition* (Studies in Biblical Theology, new series 5) (London: SCM Press, 1967).

found in the Old Testament and labeled the "David/royal traditions" are frequently listed alongside the other four "theological" traditions of ancient Israel,[41] there is a marked difference with this tradition. First, it is a latecomer. It cannot be earlier than the founding of the monarchy itself and therefore post-dates the others. Second, it is the only tradition which was directly related to the organizational centre of Israelite society. Third, it is the only tradition which has associated with it persons (the court) and a person (the king) who have a vested interest in the continuity and growth of the tradition. These persons represent in part the urban elite of Jerusalem. It is to this elite that one looks for the preservation and perpetuation (and, I might add the creation) of the society's "Great Tradition."[42] The effect is to see history as leading purposively to the status quo, and to give to the existing institutions a legitimacy. The past, enhanced by ritual and ceremony to aid the collective memory, thus seen as an on-going expression of the divine will, serves as a justification for present action and attitudes.[43]

If one is to understand the historical implications of the literature of the monarchical period then this literature needs to be removed from the abstraction "theology" and to be placed within this social matrix. One example will suffice. The so-called royal psalms frequently deal with military matters — warfare, enemies, victory and defeat. Such themes cross over several of the psalm genres and appear in lament, both communal and individual, and psalms of

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41 See G. von Rad's classic treatment in *Old Testament Theology* vol. 1 "The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions" trans. D.M.G. Stalker (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1962) 306-354.

42 On this see Eisenstadt, *Political Systems*, x-xii.

43 On the creation of traditions see E. Hobsbawm, E.T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983), especially 1-2; also J. Keegan "The Invention of Military Traditions," unpublished paper, *Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst* 1977; and recent musings on the Canadian "tradition" of multiculturalism by M. Alexander "The Portable Mosaic," *Idler* 11 (Jan/Feb. 1987) 22-26.

praise. Psalm 18, for example, repeated with slight modification in 2 Sam 22, can be seen as a glorification of warfare. In the Psalm Yahweh is likened to several different types of weapon, offensive and defensive (vv 14, 30, 35). God is clearly responsible for the victory celebrated in the psalm, but the psalmist goes further in offering thanks to Yahweh for the strength to fire arrows and to overtake and slaughter his enemies in hand-to-hand combat (v 39). The end-result of this conflict is the subjugation of the nations surrounding Israel (vv 43ff.). Whether the psalm belongs to the historical context provided for it in the superscription is irrelevant at this point. It is incorporated into the traditions of the monarchy and thereby to be seen as a legitimate expression of an aspect of royal ideology. In the light of the origin of such psalms a legitimate question is cui bono, who benefits from such expressions?

The literature of warfare is frequently written from the perspective of the elite who control its practice, the kings and generals. It is only in the last century or so, due no doubt to the advent of general literacy among populations, that warfare and battle has been seen from the point of view of the common soldier. The vast collection of folk songs associated with the soldier's life have remained within the realm of folk-art and have not been taken seriously as sources of history. With the rise of literacy since the mid-nineteenth century a change has been affected, but only a gradual one. In antiquity no such resource exists for the historian.[44]

What we know of the lot of the common soldier in antiquity shows that he suffered from the same privations, abuse and frustrations as the soldier throughout history, at least up to the First World War. The career of a common soldier, while convenient and necessary for the populace as a

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44 In the modern age the situation is quite different and eye-witness accounts of battle experience by the "average soldier" are readily available to the historian. For an excellent use of such sources see R. Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behaviour of Men in Battle* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

whole, was rarely something to which the average young man aspired. He could be recruited, but did not volunteer. In fact, "respectable" young men were actively discouraged from becoming soldiers.[45] Incidental language describing enemy soldiers as "chaff before the wind" (Ps 35:5), together with the brutal treatment of prisoners of war meted out to them by David (2 Sam 8:2) probably reflects similar disdain of the profession within Israel.

By the same token the perspective of the common soldier is not that of the officer nor of the grand strategist. On the field of battle his emotions and attitudes are circumscribed by a very small world of fear. Recent studies[46] on the experience of men in battle suggest that this dominant emotion has two objects, the fear of being wounded and in pain, and the fear of being seen a coward by the limited group with whom one fights. The "world" of the soldier in battle is populated not so much by the masses of men on both sides of the conflict with banners flying, and moving to the beat of the drum, but rather by the small group of familiar faces with whom the combatant fights. This group is usually no more than ten men. This is a factor recognized by military planners from the Romans down to the present day and has been the basis of their battlefield organization. It is this small group, the squad of ten men — brothers-in-arms — which has been the focus of much of the popular literature from the world of warfare in the recent decades. The focus is limited. It rarely encompasses the grand strategy of the general, nor even the local tactics of the battlefield.

Such studies have also indicated that the attitude to the

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45 See the admonitions to a young, hopeful scribal trainee in Papyrus Anastasi and Papyrus Lansing on the difficulties of soldiering. A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of their Writings* trans. A.W. Blackman (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963) 193-195.

46 E. Dinter, *Hero or Coward: Pressures Facing the Soldier in Battle* (London: F. Crass, 1985); see also Holmes, *Acts of War*, 74-135, 270-315.

enemy is not one of hatred, but of respect, a kind of camaraderie of common misery. The man in the front line realizes instinctively that to underestimate an enemy can be fatal. Thoughts of fighting for a cause, fanned by the initial enthusiasm of recruitment, are quickly banished by more immediate concerns of survival. The ideological statements found in the psalms, many of which emanate from the upper levels of the monarchical hierarchy, are not likely to reflect the thoughts of the common soldier. They are the products of the planner and the architects of the policy which leads to war, and the strategists who carry out the policy. In other more simple words, they are designed to support the system and the military venture, either through encouragement of a nationalistic feeling, or through retrospective justification.[47]

VI

The intention of this paper was to set out new paths of enquiry into the phenomenon of warfare in the Old Testament period, and the presentation of that warfare in the Old Testament itself. To carry out such an agenda in a full and proper way would demand a much larger work than this, and such a work is being written. However, by way of summary the following should be stated.

1. Any theological formulation of warfare in the Old Testament must be grounded in a realistic understanding of the place of warfare in the life of ancient Israel and Judah. This is an historical task.

2. Methodologically, a model of ancient Israelite warfare

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47 The importance of studying written texts in this way is reinforced by Finley, *Ancient History*, 105, "The first questions to be asked of any written source are, why was it written? Why was it 'published'?" On this see also P.P. Giglioli (ed.) *Language and Social Context*, especially the essay by B. Bernstein "Social Class, Language and Socialization," 157-179; and T.F. Carney, *Content Analysis: A Technique for Systematic Inference from Communications* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1972) 77-110.

was proposed which would do far more justice to the data than a narrow "theological" focus. The model is far from inviolable. It is " ... a simplified structuring of reality which presents supposedly significant relationships in a generalized form."[48] Such a use of models in historical enquiry has the advantage of permitting a historical synthesis, bringing into the reconstruction divers and seemingly unrelated facts.

3. The pervasiveness of the "royal ideology" in the Old Testament must be taken seriously. The institution of the monarchy in Israel and Judah created an elite centred in Jerusalem. All aspects of this phenomenon ought to be noted. The monarchy is a elite centralized bureaucracy with powers of control never known before in Israel and Judah.

4. A major function of this institution was to wage war. This was the reason for its inception, and a result of its policy.

5. This had widespread social, economic and political implications for the nations, and is well reflected in the records.

6. As a cultural and societal centre, the monarchy controlled much of the literature about the monarchy, both narrative presentations, and hymnic expressions. This literature reflects the concerns and aspirations of the centre, and should be interpreted in this light.

I have argued elsewhere that the prophetic tradition in ancient Israel and Judah can be best understood as anti-pathetic to the social structures and centres. "A prophet's self-consciousness is revealed not so much by looking at him or her as a ready-made cog in a large machine, but rather by looking at those characteristics which make the prophet distinctive. We need to look more closely at those points where the prophet challenged, or even at times stepped outside, the social structure."[49] It is on the matter of the

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48 Quoted from Finley, *Ancient History*, 60.

49 T. R. Hobbs "The Search for Prophetic Consciousness: Some Comments on Method," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 15 (1985) 136-141,

militarization of society that the prophets assume a strongly critical stance towards the monarchy. Indeed, at the very inception of the monarchy, the criticisms leveled at it concern such issues as these (2 Sam 8-12). But beyond this there are other matters of prophetic proclamation relevant to the discussion.

There is a strong note in the prophetic proclamation on the nation's absolute reliance upon Yahweh in matters political and military. The origins of this position are early, seen already in Moses' action at the Sea of Reeds (Exod 14). Such a position is the antithesis of the militarization of Israel and Judah under the kings, and stated as such.

Further, the prophets introduce into the theology of warfare in the Old Testament: a Theology of Defeat.[50] Here the ultimate irony of warfare is expounded. Yahweh, the God of Battle, delivers his own people into the hands of their enemies and Himself becomes an enemy.

The prophetic attack on social ills can be seen against the background of a system which created such problems and abuses, but which did not have the power to deal with them. Concern for widows and orphans is a common one in the Old Testament and in another ancient near eastern literature, but with the dislocation of families through increased urbanization, which is in turn a result of militarization and fortification of the country, which in turn results in increased fighting, larger numbers of deaths and casualties, there is now a very clear culprit for the appearance of such persons in society. Without a male, and without a traditional family to which such unfortunates could return, they are left to the mercy of society. The same can be said of the prophet's

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quotation on p. 139.

50 On this theme see Lind, *Yahweh is a Warrior*, 103-13.

attack on the expropriation of land, an ill which emanates clearly from the urban elite.

Finally, such an anti-pathetic stance might affect the way in which prophetic echoes of militaristic vocabulary and expressions are to be interpreted. Talmon has argued well that the speech of Samuel in 1 Sam 8 contains on the one hand a fair description of the rights of ancient monarchs, but on the other a considerable measure of sarcasm.[51] Cannot this be taken as a methodological cue for the examination of other such statements? Further, might this not reveal that those prophetic passages which appear on the surface to be supporters of the royal ideology, are in fact mimicking and ridiculing such pretensions? The attitude is certainly known in the prophetic use of cultic poems and hymns. Might it not be extended to include such texts as Mic 5.1 ff. Seen in this light this passage would not be taken as affirming the royal ideology, but parodying it, and reshaping it into a caricature.

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[51] See S. Talmon "The Rule of the King," in *Kingship and Calendar* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985) 53-67.

KING OG'S BED AND OTHER ANCIENT IRONMONGERY*

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Scattered through the biblical narratives are small pieces of information which add nothing to the main theme, and which are usually isolated from other references. The note that "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt" is a good example.[1] Recording such details incidental to their story was a way of writing the Israelites shared with other ancient authors, and with modern ones, for pieces of local colour and unnecessary knowledge can stimulate the interest of readers or hearers; it is unlikely that any greater significance should be attached to their appearance. While the form they often take in the OT leads commentators to treat them as glosses inserted into the text by later hands, evidence from cuneiform sources shows that such parenthetic remarks as these can be integral to the original composition.

One case of this literary embroidery is the famous verse describing an adversary of the Israelite tribes as they moved into Transjordan: "For only Og, king of Bashan, was left from the remnant of the Rephaim, and his iron bed is still in Rabbah of the Ammonites, nine cubits long and four cubits wide, measured by a man's forearm."[2] King Og is mentioned in other passages, his bed is not; the clause about it is

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* This paper was read at the 12th Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Jerusalem, August, 1986.

1 Num 13:22.

2 Deut 3:11.

considered one of the 'antiquarian notices' which are generally regarded as later additions.[3]

Athough the words of the biblical text are quite clear, two elements have led commentators to transform the iron bed into a stone coffin. According to S.R. Driver it was J.D. Michaelis who gave birth to the idea that "bed" here, *'ereś*, might denote a sarcophagus, an idea which many now accept.[4] In support, an analogy is adduced in the meaning of *miškāb*, "bed, couch," when used for the bier of king Asa in 2 Chron 16:14, and in the same way in Phoenician and Jewish funerary inscriptions. Now for a bed to serve also as a bier is understandable, both practically and semantically. Aramaic has *'rś'* for Greek *soros* in this sense in Luke 7:14, and the same range of meaning appears in Akkadian *mayālu*, and Greek *klinē*, extending to "last resting place." However, Hebrew and Phoenician use a different word, *'rn* for the different object, the coffin or sarcophagus which enclosed the body. There is not really any evidence that the semantic range of *'ereś* extends so widely.

Equally dubious is the concomitant claim that by *barzel* here "is meant probably the black basalt of the country which actually contains a proportion of iron (about 20 per cent.),"[5] a claim often repeated. This claim rests upon the presence of basalt sarcophagi in Transjordan, some of them being quite large (Driver noted one seen elsewhere, near Tyre, by F. Robinson, which was 12 feet [3.65 m.] long and 6 feet [1.8 m.] wide and high). G.A. Smith strengthened the argument

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3 A.D.H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (NCB; London: Oliphants, 1979) 144; H.D. Preus, *Deuteronomium* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982).

4 S.R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1902) 53. G.A. Smith, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1918) 49, claimed that *mškb* meant "bier, tomb" in Isa 57:2, Ezek 32:25, but in neither case is the word to be rendered so precisely. He also claimed that *mṭh* meant "bier" in 2 Sam 3:31, but this is to make a distinction alien to the Hebrew.

5 Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 54.

by asserting "I have often heard basalt called iron in Ḥauran."[6] Regarding Og's relic, the dimensions were decisive, Smith concluded, "the monumental character of this *'ereś* proves it to have been" a sarcophagus.[7] Contrariwise, G. von Rad objected that Og's bed was too long to have been a sarcophagus, its length being more than double that of the famous Ahiram coffin from Byblos![8] In a slight variation, a minority of scholars identify Og's *'ereś* with "a dolmen of basalt blocks," a type of monument also visible in the region today.[9]

The metamorphosis of Og's bed into a basalt coffin was completed when it gained authoritative status in modern Bible translations. The *NEB* renders *'ereś barzel*, "sarcophagus of basalt," with a footnote "or iron" for basalt, and the United Bible Societies' *Good News Bible* offers "His coffin made of stone," with footnotes "coffin *or* bed" and "stone *or* iron."

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6 Smith, *Deuteronomy*, 49. Such an assertion may also lie behind S.R. Driver's suggestion (*Deuteronomy*, 109) that the iron which can be dug from Canaan, according to Deut 8:9, is basalt. The emendation of *brzl* to *bzlt*, "basalt," reported by J.F.A. Sawyer ("The Meaning of *barzel* in the Biblical Expressions 'Chariots of Iron', 'Yoke of Iron', etc.," *Midian, Moab and Edom* (ed. J.F.A. Sawyer, D.J.A. Clines; Sheffield: JSOT, 1983) 133, is out of the question. In modern Hebrew *bzlt* is a loan-word from Latin, see J. ibn S. Kaufman, *English-Hebrew Dictionary* (Tel Aviv: Devir, 1929) s.v. (the word is not recorded in Ben Yehuda's *Thesaurus*). The Latin word *basaltes*, or, better, *basanites*, (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi 147) is probably a loan-word from Egyptian *bḥn*, in late times *bšn* (see J.Černý in J.R. Harris ed., *The Legacy of Egypt* [Oxford, Clarendon, 1971] 206; I am indebted to Professor A.F. Shore for this reference). Obviously this word could not have entered biblical Hebrew in the form *bzlt* as the proposed emendation requires.

7 Smith, *Deuteronomy*, 49.

8 G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy* (London, SCM, 1966) 44.

9 M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (London: A. and C. Black, 1958) 160, n. 1; R. de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel* (London: Darton, Longman, Todd, 1978) 567.

Despite the unanimity of commentators, S.R. Driver's caution deserves to be heeded: "it is not impossible that the giant relic shown at Rabbah was a sarcophagus; though, as this meaning of *'rś* is uncertain, it is better to suppose that what was really a sarcophagus was popularly called a 'bed'."[10] In other words, "Og's bed" was a name like "King Arthur's Seat" in Edinburgh, or "Solomon's Throne" in Iran. That is, in fact, the only way to explain how a word which always means "bed" can be translated "coffin," and how a word which always denotes "iron" can be given the meaning "stone." Archaeologists have yet to unearth a large basalt coffin in Amman inscribed "The iron bed of king Og," and it is unlikely they will do so. Should they even expect to?

Our survey of the interpretation usually given to the phrase "bed of iron" in Deut 3:11 has disclosed the absence of any adequate basis for it in Hebrew language, and only a slight archaeological foundation in the occurrence of large basalt coffins in the area where Og ruled. The size of the object was evidently the stimulus for the interpretation. Now the size of Og's bed may be related to his origin as one of the Rephaim, reputedly giants,[11] or it may have been the result of a royal whim, or a sign of prestige. It was twice as long as a normal modern double bed, and a little wider. (With a cubit of 17.5 inches [44.5 cms.], it was about 13 by 5.8 feet [4 by 1.75 metres]). While such dimensions strengthen the coffin explanation slightly, they are not sufficient to counter the semantic objections. Any reason offered for the size of the bed has to be speculative, and may not require a unique meaning to be given to *barzel*.

In their ingenuity commentators have failed to ask whether ancient readers of Deuteronomy would have understood the passage as they do, or not. Without doubt, a special, local meaning may be forgotten quickly, but here the

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10 Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 54.

11 See A. Caquot, "Rephaim," *DBSup*, cols. 344-57, for opinions on the Rephaim.

reader is directed to view the object still at Rabbah. Would an Israelite of the late seventh century B.C. who read or heard that Og had owned an *'ereś barzel* have expected to see a large stone coffin? The usage of Hebrew and of other ancient Near Eastern languages suggests that he would not. Linguistic and archaeological evidence point to the plain sense of the words.

Within the Old Testament there are "a throne of ivory," (*kissē' šēn*, 1 Kgs 10:18; 2 Chron 9:17), "beds of ivory" (*miṭṭôt šēn*, Amos 6:4), and even "a house" and "palaces of ivory" (*bêt haššēn*, 1 Kings 22:39; *hêklê šēn*, Ps 45:9). Cuneiform texts, similarly, mention ivory furniture, the best-known being Sennacherib's list of tribute paid by Hezekiah, which included "beds of ivory" (GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ ZÚ, *eršī šinni*).[12] As discoveries at Samaria and in Assyrian towns have demonstrated, this furniture was not made of ivory, any more than Ahab's house was; rather, the ivory served as decoration, plating, veneer, and panelling. Assyrian texts recording "a bed of silver"[13] and other furniture of precious metal refer to the same method of enhancing wooden pieces, so that, in some cases, the woodwork might be completely covered. (A chair and a bed of wood overlaid with ivory in this way were recovered from a tomb at Salamis in Cyprus, dated to about 800 B.C.[14]) An "iron bed" in an ancient Near Eastern context, therefore, is surely to be understood as a bed adorned with iron.

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12 Chicago Prism III 43. For the text in transliteration see R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke* (AnOr 54; 2nd ed; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1979) 75.

13 Sargon's Eighth Campaign, line 388, F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une rélation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (Paris: Geuthner, 1912); recently edited by W. Mayer, "Sargon's Feldzüge gegen Urartu – 714 v. Chr. Text und Übersetzung," MDOG 115 (1983) 65-132. On the treasure taken, see W. Mayer, "Die Finanzierung einer Kampagne (TCL 3,346-410)," *UF* 11 (1979) 571-99.

14 V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis III* (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, 1973) 87-97.

Given that is the straightforward sense of *'ereś barzel*, the questions arise: Why should a bed be decorated with iron, and why should it merit attention? Assyrian texts are concerned with furniture beautified with valuable materials, not with iron. Indeed, if iron is connected with furniture it is in utilitarian aspects. The reason for the notice of Og's iron bed relates, we shall argue, to its historical context, but before that is considered, another type of iron object deserves mention.

As Israel spread through the Promised Land, she faced Canaanite kings whose armies had "iron chariots" (*rekeb barzel*)[15] which seemed to be an invincible weapon. Again, the text does not require the reader to believe that the chariots were wholly iron, but that they were strengthened with it, as commentators have realized.[16] At present it is impossible to decide where the iron was applied, as armour plating, as reinforcement for the axles, or as tyres to stop the wooden wheels splintering.[17] The notable point is the strong and frightening effect of these iron chariots on the Israelites. Evidently it was not chariots but iron chariots which formed the menace. They were a weapon Israel did not have, perhaps had not met before, a weapon that would be all the more fearsome if it was a new one. After the book of Judges, the Hebrew writers never again describe chariots as "iron," which either suggests that the metal was later a normal component of a chariot and so did not deserve men-

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15 Josh 17: 16, 18; Judg 1:19; 4: 3, 13.

16 G.F. Moore, *Judges* (ICC; Edinburgh: Clark, 1898) 38, "strengthened or studded with iron"; R.G. Boling, *Judges* (AB 6A; New York: Doubleday, 1975) 58.

17 G.F. Maclear, *The Book of Joshua* (Cambridge Bible for Schools; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1880) 100, suggested the tyres were of iron, but Egyptian chariots had leather tyres, and this was probably the case throughout Mesopotamian history, too (see Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1963]). (Yadin [ibid., 255] thought iron was applied as armour to the chariots.)

tion, or that the "iron chariots" were in fashion only for a short period, perhaps as an experimental weapon.

The situation that would make an iron bed and iron chariots noteworthy existed only in the Late Bronze Age. Although bronze was then the common metal for tools and weapons, iron was not unknown. It was difficult to work and so highly prized. Traces of an iron foundry have been found in the Late Bronze Age palace at Kamid el–Loz, ancient Kamidu, at the southern end of the Beq'a in Lebanon.[18]

In a well-known letter, the Hittite king Hattusilis III (ca. 1289-1265 B.C.) replied to a request for iron from someone who may have been the king of Assyria. The Hittite king replied by saying that the iron was not available at present in the amount required, but that it would be produced later. In the meantime, he was sending one dagger-blade of iron as a gesture of good intent.[19] How greatly iron was valued at this time is apparent from the copper socket, inlaid with gold, made for an iron axe-blade found at Ugarit, and most of all by the magnificent gold hilt and sheath provided for the iron dagger-blade laid in the tomb of Tutankhamun. A few less elaborate weapons and pieces of iron jewellery also survive from this period, and texts refer to more. Lists of treasure drawn up at various cities of the levant include jewellery of iron and iron daggers, richly mounted like Tutankhamun's. Ironwork appears in the Hittite inventories from Bogazkoy, dagger-blades being especially numerous (fifty-six in one case).[20] Contrasting the number of pieces itemized in these inventories with the number of pieces actually recovered in the Hittite capital (two axe-blades, two

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18 B. Fisch, G. Mansfeld, W.–R. Thiele, *Kamid el–Loz 6. Die Werkstätten der spätbronzezeitlichen Paläste* (Bonn: Habelt, 1985). For other evidence see P.R.S. Moorey, *Materials and Manufacture in Ancient Mesopotamia, the Evidence of Archaeology and Art* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1983) 93-96.

19 See C. Zaccagnini, "KBo I 14 e il 'Monopolio' hittita del ferro," *RSO* 45 (1970) 11-20.

20 S. Kosak, *Hittite Inventory Texts* (Texte der Hethiter 10; Heidelberg: Winter, 1982) 198-99.

spear-butts, a chisel, and two fragments) emphasizes the gap between what is found and what once existed.[21] There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the texts. Iron was known earlier, in the Middle Bronze Age, when the Mari tablets attest its use in jewellery, for rings and bracelets and, it has recently been disclosed, for a weapon, ***hurpalû***, a mace or perhaps a double axe-head.[22] At Acemhöyük in southern Turkey an ivory box was unearthed from a level of the eighteenth century B.C. It is decorated with studs of gold, lapis lazuli, and iron.[23] To that date one Hittite document of particular interest refers, the famous Anitta Text. With the recent important advances in Hittite palaeography, this composition, which had been dated about 1300 B.C., is now seen to be no later than the sixteenth century B.C., and so to have greater historical value. Irrespective of its narrative, it is a valuable testimony to the early use of iron. Anittas, a local king, reported "...the ruler of Purushkhanda [which is probably modern Acemhöyük] [brought] gifts to me; he brought me a throne of iron and a sceptre (?) of iron as gifts."[24] This is the closest any extra-biblical text ap-

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21 J.C. Waldbaum, "The First Archaeological Appearance of Iron," *The Coming of the Age of Iron* (ed. T.A. Wertime, J.D. Muhly; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980) 77. Other early occurrences of iron in texts and in physical examples are listed in this essay. See now J.D. Muhly, R. Maddin, T. Stech and E. Özgen, "Iron in Anatolia and the Nature of the Hittite Iron Industry," *Anatolian Studies* 35 (1985) 67-84. All Hittite references to iran have now been collected by S. Kasak in H.A. Hoffner, G.A. Beckman eds., *Kanišśuwan. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock* ... (Assyriological Studies No. 23, Chicago: Oriential Institute, 1986) 125-35.

22 H. Limet, "Documents relatifs au fer à Mari," *MARI* 3 (1984) 191-96; id., "Les relations entre Mari et la côte méditerranéenne sous le règne de Zimri-Lim" *Phoenicia and its Neighbours* (Studia Phoenicia III; Leuven: Peeters, 1985) 13-20, esp. 17.

23 N. Özgüç, "An Ivory Box and a Stone Mould from Acemhöyük,"*Belleten* 40 (1976) 555-60.

24 See H.G. Güterbock, "Hittite Historiography: A Survey," *History, Historiography and Interpretation* (ed. H. Tadmor, M. Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983) 22-25; E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text* (Wiesbaden; Harrassowitz, 1974).

proaches to supplying a record of a piece of iron furniture in some way comparable with Og's bed, but this is half a millennium before the era of Og! Doubtless the throne brought to Anitta was wooden, embellished with iron.

In the Iron Age there would be little significance in qualifying chariots, or a throne, or a bed as "of iron," for that would not be noteworthy. When iron was hard to obtain, the product of a difficult technique, a bed or a throne decorated with it could be a treasure in a king's palace, something for visitors to admire, and the idea of chariots strengthened with iron would sound a powerful threat. Insofar as the biblical cases are concerned, these arguments lead to the conclusion that the verses in Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges reflect accurately the impact of iron on Late Bronze Age society. Thus they can be seen to preserve authentic traditions from that time.[25]

In addition to the evidence of iron artifacts, the lists drawn up by ancient clerks, and literary descriptions, there is one other notable testimony to knowledge of the properties of iron during the Late Bronze Age. This is a somewhat unexpected one, given the apparently restricted availability of iron. Moreover, that some of the information comes from Egypt makes it the more remarkable, for in Egypt "it is not until the Ptolemaic Period that iron tools are at all usual," although there "is an increase in the use of" the metal from the seventh century B.C. onwards.[26] The testimony to be presented is the inclusion of iron in figurative language. In a blessing on the pharaoh Ramesses II (ca. 1279-1213 B.C.), the god Ptah is made to say to him, "I fashioned your body

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25 Clearly no one can continue to claim, "It is historically highly improbable... that the Canaanites were equipped with iron chariots before the end of the second millennium BC," as J.F.A. Sawyer has done (*Midian, Moab and Edom*, 131).

26 *Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1964) 203.

of electrum, your bones of bronze, your limbs of iron."[27] The same pharaoh described himself in his address to his troops before the Battle of Qadesh (ca.1274 B.C.) in the words, "Do you not realize that I am your wall of iron?"[28] Ramesses had both hostile and, eventually, peaceful contacts with the Hittites, and his supplies of iron may have come from them, as may the dagger blade of Tutankhamun a century earlier. Older than both of those examples is a similar expression in the Gebel Barkal Stele of Tuthmosis III (ca. 1479-1425 B.C.): "He is a king who is...an effective fortress for his army and a rampart of iron."[29] Interestingly, there are more occurrences of the expression "a wall of bronze" in Egyptian texts reaching back at least to Sesostris III (ca. 1878-1843 B.C.), who is called "fortress like a wall of copper,"[30] and continuing well after Tuthmosis III, appearing twice in inscriptions of Seti I (ca. 1294-1279 B.C.), father of Ramesses II, characterizing him as "a wall of bronze for Egypt with crenellations of flint" and as "a great wall of copper which protects his soldiers."[31]

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27 Text in K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II 5* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1971) 266; translation: J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt III* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906) §403.

28 Text in K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II.2* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970) 80; translation: Sir Alan Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, Griffith Institute, 1960) 12, Poem 262.

29 Text: G.A. Reisner and M.B. Reisner, "Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 69 (1933) 30; recent translation: B. Cumming, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty I* (Warminster, Aris and Phillips, 1982) 3, 1233.6.

30 A.H. Gardiner, "The Supposed Egyptian Equivalent of the Name of Goshen," *JEA* 5 (1918) 219.

31 Texts in K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions I.5* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974) 190:15 and ibid., *Ramesside Inscriptions I.6* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1974) 204; translation of latter: J.H. Breasted, *Records of Egypt*, §224. I should acknowledge that the Egyptian texts cited here were originally collected for a different purpose by B. Couroyer, "L'arc d'airain," *RB* 72 (1965) 510-11.

Hittite scribes of the Old Kingdom had a stock phrase with which they concluded royal land donations, "the words of the Tabarna, the Great King, are of iron, not to be refuted, not to be broken." The oldest examples come from the reign of Hattusilis I, ca. 1650 B.C., and show how early the qualities of iron were sufficiently familiar to be taken up in such a metaphor.[32] Later, in a ritual for the erection of a new palace, iron is again a symbol of the king's strength, "They have made his frame of tin, they have made his head of iron ..."[33]

All these figures rest upon the strength or hardness of the metal and its ability to resist attack, especially, we may imagine, by arrows and spears. All are contemporary with the sovereigns in whose texts they occur. Their testimony should receive due weight, although studies of iron's early history have given little attention to it.

Figurative uses of iron existing in Egyptian texts of the Late Bronze Age and in Hittite texts of even slightly higher antiquity suggest that writers of other languages of the Levant could have done the same in that period. This opens the possibility that the curse of Deut 28:23, "The heavens over your head shall be bronze, and the earth beneath you shall be iron," and its parallel in Lev 26:19, may reflect a much more ancient expression than its close Assyrian parallel of the seventh century B.C. has led many to suppose, and that the repeated comparison of Egypt's oppression with a *kûr habbarzel*, "iron-furnace," may stem from the actual experience of those who toiled under the Pharaoh's lash.[34]

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32 A.L. Oppenheim, "A Note on *ṣôn barzel*," *IEJ* 5 (1955) 89-92; cf. D.F. Easton, "Hittite Land Donations with Tabarna Seals," *JCS* 33 (1981) 3-43, with full bibliography.

33 H.G. Güterbock, "Le mot hittite *ḫartaggaš* «serpent»," *Revue Hittite et Asianique* 6 (1942-3) 106; H.A. Hoffner, "A Hittite Text in Epic Style about Merchants," *JCS* 22 (1968) 43; translation by A. Goetze in *ANET*, 358.

34 Deut 4:20; 1 Kgs 8: 51; Jer 11:4.

While at first glance it may seem that "a large proportion of the occurrences of *barzel* ... do not fit the archaeological evidence,"[35] setting the written sources from the Late Bronze Age beside the more scanty physical remains proves that impression to be misleading. To accept that the Canaanites had chariots armoured with iron and that Og's bed had iron fittings is no longer difficult, and is certainly not obscurantist. Indeed, the reports would cause little surprise if they appeared in a newly excavated document from Ugarit or Bogazkoy, or — dare one say — from Hazor, Megiddo, or Aphek. The references in Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges to these things can be accepted as soundly historical. From the Egyptian and Hittite sources arises the further conclusion that early Israelites could enliven their language with figures born from a knowledge of iron as the hardest and strongest of metals, figures, such as those in Deuteronomy, which then had an ongoing life. Here is another example of the benefit to be gained from first reading the biblical text against the ancient context it claims for itself, and only then evaluating it.

Peter Craigie, whose fellowship the writer enjoyed for twenty years, has left valuable essays which follow similar lines. May others arise to carry further forward the path of sober scholarship and Christian faith which he displayed.

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35 Sawyer, *Midian, Moab and Edom*, 131.

ON TAKING RENEWAL SERIOUSLY
1 SAM 11:1-15

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If any chapter in 1 Samuel gives even the most conservative reader cause for textual emendation of the MT, it is chap. 11. For one thing, 4QSam now confirms the Greek text apparently used by Josephus, which contained additional information about Nahash's raids upon the transjordanian tribes.[1] More importantly, however, our abiding desire for the story to make sense, in itself and in its literary context, is severely tested by this chapter's apparent inconsistencies, non-sequiturs and other problematic features—all responsible for the veritable jungle of interpretations that has grown up around the chapter.[2]

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[1] McCarter (*1 Samuel* (AB 8;Garden City: Doubleday, 1980], pp. 198ff) incorporates this additional material into 10:27 and integrates it well into his notes and comments. Although providing important background for the key events of the chapter, 4QSam[a] adds little else to the esthetic and ideological dimensions of the story as found in the MT.

[2] Lyle Eslinger, *Kingship of God in Crisis* [BLS 10; Decatur & Sheffield: Almond, 1985], (pp. 359-382) has done a nice job of collecting and discussing many of the more relevant attempts at interpretation of this chapter, especially those centred around the concluding events of vv 12-15. To his list of readings of chap. 11 can be added a recent article by Diana Edelman, "Saul's Rescue of Jabesh-Gilead (I Sam 11:1-11): Sorting Story from History," *ZAW* 96 (1984) 195-209. Edelman uses the "factual information" of 2 Sam 2:4b-7 as a historical corrective to the details contained in chap. 11. Applying Baruch Halpern's suggestions of a widespread kingship ritual in Israel, Judah and elsewhere in the ancient Near East to the subject-matter of chap. 11, Edelman sees the middle element of the proposed ritual pattern (designation, *battle* and confirmation) as the primary motivation whereby the writer of the story constructed what she characterizes as a "*šōpēṭ*-style tale." The narrative unit of 1 Sam 1:1-11 thus appears to be an

Nowhere is the need for emendation or the warrant for literary history more apparent than in the story of the siege of Jabesh-Gilead.

Consider the question of narrative flow. Like the transition from Samuel the universally known judge of chap. 8 to Samuel the obscure local seer of chap. 9, the transition from chaps. 10 to 11 apparently represents a retrograde movement from a newly acclaimed king to a charismatic judge-saviour well known from the Book of Judges. The concluding verses, witness to a desire to integrate into the present account a story drawn from a supposed "original Saul cycle," are generally considered to contain clumsy editorial additions. The resulting strain on the fabric of the story is almost too much for the text to bear. The hybrid account that we now have in chap. 11 confusingly pulls us backward in time toward the charismatic leaders of the Book of Judges even as it proceeds forward with the story of Saul's kingship. This judicial escapade of Saul's, the commentators tell us, originally had nothing to do with questions of monarchy.

Consider also the obvious need for textual emendation to help the redactor's confused story make sense. No sooner does Saul lead Israel to victory over the Ammonites than the people demand to put to death those who had promoted his kingship! It is perfectly clear, we are told, that one must add either a question-mark (ha-) or a negative (lo') to the damning statement, in the massoretic text, of those men whom the people want to execute:

> MT: Who is it that said, "Saul shall be king over us."? Bring the men, that we may put them to death. (v 12)
>
> RSV: Who is it that said, "*Shall* Saul be king over us?"? Bring the men, that we may put them to death. (v 12)

"artificially constructed tale of the so-called 'major' judges." (p. 207) From Edleman's perspective, therefore, as from that of most source-oriented scholars, the text essentially "means" that supposedly incoherent reading toward which its reconstructed literary history — usually a highly speculative affair — is supposed to tend.

> Other: Who was it who said, "Saul shall *not* be king over us!"? Give us the men and we shall put them to death!" (v 12)

This demand raises a further complication: it is made of Samuel, but then the text confusingly has Saul respond in v 13.

Consider also the nature of the opening request of the men of Jabesh-Gilead to Nahash for a treaty: the townspeople are willing to act contrary to the tribal confederation by allying themselves to a belligerent outsider without a fight, yet God takes pains to save them anyway. Moreover, Nahash's agreeing to their further request for time to muster sufficient opposition to him lacks credibility. Why would an attacking army agree to such a request?

Consider finally, and perhaps most importantly, the people's apparently superfluous action, in v 15, of "renewing the kingship (*ḥdš*)," which Samuel himself suggests in v 14. The people have just acclaimed Saul king in 10:24, but here, in the very next chapter, a renewal of kingship is proposed and carried out. Is this renewal an indication of narrative movement from kingship *de jure* to kingship *de facto* — as noted by Wellhausen, who is quoted with approval by McCarter[3] — as well as of historical layering of the text itself?

Granting all these textual and hermeneutic difficulties concerning chap. 11, and recognizing textual variations lying behind or along-side of the MT — variation exemplified by ancient witnesses like 4QSam[a] — we nevertheless want to suggest a reading that proceeds from an unemended text and assumes a much closer fit between chap. 11 and its literary context than ordinarily proposed. What does the story say if we remove the heavy hand of ancient redactors and modern emendors and replace it with suggestions of high literary art?

The best place to begin is where the story ends. The siege of Jabesh-Gilead culminates in an Israelite victory and

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[3] McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 196.

"renewal of the kingdom." (vv 14-15) The word used here (*ḥdš* in the *piel*) means "to restore or repair" and elsewhere always refers to the renewal or restoration of something actually destroyed, damaged or lost.[4] It turns out, therefore, that both the command of Samuel and the response of Israel toward renewal of kingship in vv 14-15 are as troublesome to understand as the people's desire, in v 12 of the MT, to kill those who had proclaimed or promoted Saul's kingship.[5] How can the chapter, as it stands, make any sense at all if one takes this concluding renewal of the kingship literally, that is, as an action presupposing a prior dissolution of or serious attack upon kingship since the events recounted in chap. 10?

The suggestion that the kingship had become dormant since the narrator had Samuel send everyone home in 10:25 makes some sense, but hardly goes far enough. In this view, a quiescent kingship is simply revitalized and the need for its renewal only implied. Actually, there is abundant indication within the chapter of Israel's ignoring and even opposing their monarchic situation — be it quiescent or active — so that Samuel's move at the end toward renewal

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[4] Other than its occurrence here in 1 Sam 11, the verb is found only in Is 61:4; Pss. 51:12, 103:5, and 104:30; Lam 5:21; Job 10:17; and 2 Chron 15:18; 24:4, 12. Efforts to show how *ḥdš* could mean "to inaugurate" are unconvincing.

[5] A common solution to the renewal question involves "surrendering v 14 to the redactional scrap-heap," as Eslinger aptly characterizes it (*Kingship of God in Crisis*, 378). Convinced that such disposal is not necessary, Eslinger follows Buber here and describes the space between the end of chap. 10 and the beginning of chap. 11 as a period when Israel's kingship had become dormant, so that renewal became "absolutely necessary for the people to affirm their acceptance of and allegiance to the monarchy offered to them by Yahweh." (p. 379) Up to this point, Eslinger's explanation of the need for renewal is plausible. However, since he accepts the questioning or negative interpretation of the statement quoted and condemned by the people in v 12, he is led to propose that v 12 represents a hypocritical fabrication of these new monarchic converts who then go on to renew the kingship. This overall understanding of the chapter seems to me to wend almost as tortuous a path as the redactional interpretations Eslinger so justly rejects.

of the monarchy becomes something of a literal necessity if Israel is to honour their commitment to the monarchy.

Long recognized insights of scholars concerning chap. 11 offer us the beginnings of a solution, provided we put their perceptions to better use by assuming an artful narrative rather than a clumsy redaction.

Kyle McCarter, citing the classic work of Albrecht Alt, succinctly characterizes the events of 11:1-11: "It is widely recognized that Saul's deliverance of Jabesh-Gilead belongs to a type of story, best known from the Book of Judges, in which an enemy threat is averted by an Israelite hero whom Yahweh has raised up from among his countrymen. These were the tales of the so-called 'major judges' (Judg 3:7-16:31), each of whom rescued some part of Israel from a foreign threat."[6] Once he has recognized the thorough-going judicial picture presented in chap. 11, McCarter, like most biblical scholars bent upon historical reconstruction, uses this insight for purposes of literary and political history rather than for serious narrative interpretation: it is precisely because these originally judicial stories of Saul are supposed to *ill-fit* their present monarchic context that McCarter, Alt and all the rest can construct the various literary histories they suggest.

What if, on the other hand, we were to suppose that the judicial picture presented in chap. 11, whatever its actual pre-history, is exactly what the narrator is emphasizing at this point in the complex story of Israel's move to kingship? This suggestion of an artful and coherent story would then lead us with some justification to accept a literal renewal of the kingship and to reject any emendation of the pivotal statement in v 12. The complex characterizations of Israel and especially Samuel are greatly enhanced, indeed enabled, by this chapter's picture of Saul, the judicial rather than monarchic deliverer of Israel.[7]

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6 McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 205-6.

7 If a literal renewal of the monarchy allows us to put the judicial picture of chap. 11 in proper perspective, it additionally offers one of

There is not a hint in chap. 11 before v 12 that Israel, or any tribe or individual thereof, is conscious of having a king within their midst. The threat from Nahash leads the men of Jabesh-Gilead to send messengers throughout Israel in search of a "deliverer."[8] They find Saul of Gibeah who, like Samson before him, experiences the onrush of God's spirit and an ensuing fierce anger that prepare him for a stinging victory over Israel's enemies (See Judg 14:6, 19; 15:4). Alt's description of chap. 11 is accurate: "Saul's charismatic leadership, the military service of the tribes, the

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the clearest illustrations I know of concerning the intimate connection between text-criticism and the supposedly more subjective higher criticism that is in theory "based upon it." Whether one points for justification to ancient translations like the Septuagint or modern interpreters like S. R. Driver (*Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* [Oxford: UP, 1913], p. 87.), the MT in v 12 ("Saul shall be king") has continued to be seen as "contradictory to the context" (McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 201), so that an actual or implied "not," we are told, must be added to the verse. By "the context," however, modern scholars mean something like "a narrative (supposedly from the Saul cycle of judge-stories) rather artlessly incorporated into a monarchic context." In such an understanding, an artless redaction *necessitates* an artful emendation. Once again we might smugly believe that modern intelligence has discovered and corrected an ancient mistake based upon a scribal or redactional slip of the pen. However, perhaps it is *our understanding* of a vague or metaphorical renewal of the kingship and *our belief* in the necessity here for textual emendation that have missed the point. Whatever the case, we can comfort ourselves with the knowledge that the Septuagint and other early translations began such ponderings very early indeed.

[8] The *mōšiʿ* whom Jabesh-Gilead proposes to find in v 3 turns out to be the LORD himself, according to Saul's words here in v 13. John Sawyer's semantic study, "What was a *mōšiʿ*?," *VT* 15 (1965) 475-86, attempts to recover "the original meaning and *Sitz im Leben* of an important biblical word." (p. 476) He finds in it a possible forensic origin, suggesting a development from a definite office within a definite sphere of life (verbal defense) "to a title of God related to that same sphere of life, and from there to a title of God in any general context." (p. 485) Although I could not find its occurrence in 11.3 discussed by Sawyer, I would assume that its use there to refer to the military defender whom Jabesh-Gilead is seeking indicates for him a literary-historical point at which the original meaning of a *verbal* defender has already been extended to include a *military* defender.

overwhelming success; up to this point one would think oneself simply confronted with a story from the Book of Judges, except perhaps that the circle of people who were borne along by the enthusiasm of the leader is wider here than elsewhere. But in the final terse sentences comes the unexpected twist: the victorious tribes bring Saul to their sanctuary and by their act of homage make him what no charismatic leader ever was before: the king of Israel (1 Sam XI.1-11,15)." [9] Alt also cites with approval Martin Noth's recognition of the remarkable procedural similarity between the dismembering call-to-arms of Saul in this chapter and that of the Levite in the story of the Benjaminite outrage from the Book of Judges.[10] Unlike Buber, however, neither Alt nor Noth ever attempted to integrate this judicial perception into the larger story-line. As for the views of most scholars persuaded by Alt's depiction of a judicial context for the Jabesh-Gilead story in 1 Sam 11, a typical move is to use this insight to reconstruct a two-staged historical progression toward the monarchy: first a "charismatic type" represented by Saul's kingship, then a permanent dynastic type represented by David's.[11]

Actually, the story's progression (perhaps "retrogression" more accurately fits these scholars' view) from Saul, the king acclaimed by the people in chap. 10, to Saul, the "charismatic judge" chosen by God in chap. 11, is not so very bothersome to excavative scholarship: such a transition simply signals a tolerance for narrative incoherence that belongs to their ancient redactor's psychological or esthetic profile. The two chapters' variant viewpoints need not be reconciled because they are basically irreconcilable, however illuminating they are for purposes of literary history. Nevertheless, we need only assume an artful and

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9 *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968), p. 253.

10 A. Alt, *Old Testament History and Religion* , 251.

11 See, for example, McCarter's description in *1 Samuel*, 206.

coherent construction in the story's development for many of the jagged details of chap. 11 to fall into place.

To begin with, the judicial echoes in 1 Sam 11 of Judg 19-21 are far more extensive than Noth's simple recognition of a tribal call-to-arms represented by the drastic dismembering of the Levite's concubine in Judg 19 and of Saul's yoke of oxen in 1 Sam 11.[12] Literary allusions and narrative re-working of key details make the ideological and esthetic connections between the two passages deliberate and extensive.

The pairing of the towns of Jabesh-Gilead and Gibeah in both passages is obvious and scarcely accidental. On one hand, Jabesh-Gilead had notoriously refused to join Israel's call against a notorious Gibeah in Judg 21; on the other hand, a divinely led call-to-arms to rally Israel in aid of a besieged Jabesh-Gilead in 1 Sam 11 issues forth from Gibeah. There is an aura of urban reciprocity begun in the Book of Judges that will continue far beyond 1 Sam 11.

Notice that the Benjaminite town of Gibeah, its covenantal treachery and its tribe's fate form the main subject-matter of Judg. 19-21. These chapters of Judges, as if to emphasize the *pre-monarchic* background of the first pairing of Gibeah and Jabesh-Gilead, are bracketed in the following way:

> Judg 19:1: In those days, when there was no king in Israel, a certain Levite ...
>
> Judg 21:24-5: And the people of Israel departed from there at that time, every man to his tribe and family ... In those days there was no king in Israel.

By contrast, the *monarchic* background of the second pairing of these two towns, in 1 Sam 11, is bracketed as follows:

> 1 Sam 10:24-5: And all the people shouted, "Long live the King" then Samuel told the people the rights and duties of the

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12 For a suggestion of covenantal implications in these actions, see R.Polzin, "HWQY' and Covenantal Institutions in Early Israel," *HTR* 62 (1969), 227-40.

> kingship ... then Samuel sent all the people away, each one to his home.
>
> 1 Sam 11:15: So all the people went to Gilgal and there made Saul king before the LORD at Gilgal.

It is as if the chaotic situation described at the end of the Book of Judges — when there was no human deliverer, be he judge or king, to set Israel on the right path — deliberately looks forward to a sequel here in 1 Sam 11 involving these same two towns. This time, however, a newly acclaimed king from Gibeah turns out to act, in Jabesh-Gilead's behalf and at God's behest, precisely like the judge so obviously missing from the last chapters of the Book of Judges.

Notice also that the account of the siege of Jabesh-Gilead sends forth some paronomastic rays whose source is in the name of the tribe to which Gibeah belongs, Benjamin (*bin-yāmîn*: "right son"): Nahash threatens to gouge out every right eye (*ʿēn-yāmîn*) of the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, who later respond, "... you may do to us what is pleasing (*ṭôb*) to your eyes" (v 10). If this response plays with Nahash's threat ("You may try to pluck out our right eyes, an action pleasing to your eyes ..."), it more importantly echoes the judge vs. king background against which both accounts occur: "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did what what was right (*yašar*) in his own eyes" (Judg 21:25).

Notice finally that the outrageous act of the base fellows of Gibeah in Judg 19 causes the tribes of Israel to say:

> "Now, therefore, *give up the men* [the base fellows of Gibeah] *that we may put them to death*" (Judg 20:13).

The story in 1 Sam 11 has the people say (to Samuel) the very same words:

> "*Give up the men, that we may put them to death.*"

Nowhere else in the entire Bible do we find these exact words.

Taking these examples of literary allusion, paronomasia and echoing of reported speech as additional confirmation of the unquestionable judicial emphases of 1 Sam 11 so long recognized by scholars, what narrative conclusions can we draw?

Everything in vv 1-11, be it the statements of the narrator or the statements and actions of its characters, contributes toward a conscious and deliberate *ignoring* of the monarchic status of Saul in favour of depicting him as someone who, like the judges of old, leads Israel to victory under God's inspiration. May we not, therefore, plausibly suggest that this lesson about proper leadership, intended for the story's characters and readers alike, is to be understood as so well learned by the people after their deliverer's victory that they were inclined to recognize the political and theological advantages of retracting their demand for a king, thus reversing the direction they had chosen in chap. 8?

Along this line, may not the entire movement of 1 Sam 11, in its immediate literary context and intimate dialogue with the Book of Judges, render plausible the community's desire to punish those within their midst like the elders who had gathered together at Ramah to request a king from Samuel (8:4-5) or the people who had acclaimed Saul king in chap. 10? Could not God's deliverance of Jabesh-Gilead through Saul, who acts not like the kings of other nations but like Israel's judges of old, have impressed itself so forcefully upon Israel that they are portrayed as recognizing the practical advantages of extirpating the monarchy from their midst and punishing those in the community most responsible for promoting it?. Such considerations allow the Massoretic text ("Who is it that said, 'Saul shall be king over us!'? Bring the men that we may put them to death." [11:12]) to make some sense. "Let Saul be our judge," the people now say, "but no longer our king. We want to retreat from our sinful state by punishing those most responsible for having put us there."

By integrating, therefore, the thorough-going judicial nature of the Israelite victory in vv 1-11, a feature

emphasized by both narrator and characters alike, with the call in v 12 to punish those who had wanted a monarchic Israel, the stage is set for the revealing responses of Saul and Samuel to this national call for repentance.

The Art of Prophetic Manipulation

The narrator now uses this story of God's offer to Israel to repent as a vehicle for deftly portraying a complicated range of character, both human and divine. What is remarkable about this account, as generally about this entire section of 1 Samuel, is its ability to characterize without the narrator making explicit evaluative statements concerning the words or actions of his main characters. The verbal economy with which the Deuteronomist achieves his purposes is exceptional, however diverse his methods.

Think about the effect wrought upon our perception of the story's characters by the perfidious pairing of Jabesh-Gilead and Gibeah in Judg 19-21. That the men of Jabesh-Gilead had earlier refused to honour their tribal obligations at Mizpah makes their present treachery in offering covenantal peace to Ammon without a fight (v 1) simply characteristic. The character-zone of Jabesh is already filled with tribal betrayal, so that the treacherous dimensions of their opening gambit with Nahash are easily understood without so much as a raised eye-brow on the part of the narrator.

Nahash's arrogant response then forces those who once had failed to honour their own tribal obligations to call upon fellow tribes to honour theirs. The presumption and easy self-deception of the men of Jabesh-Gilead is palpable. If we add to this negative picture of an Israelite town the positive portrayal of a God who delivers it from its dire straits despite its perfidy, we are confronted once again with a mysteriously magnanimous and merciful LORD who, contrary to the abundant words concerning his harsh justice that are found throughout the history, is so often shown as partial to a sinning Israel.

For his part, and in spite of the powerful success brought about by the onrush of God's spirit upon him, Saul remains continually dogged by the negative associations of the town of his origin. Once it is paired with Jabesh-Gilead in the grotesque incidents recounted in the Book of Judges, Gibeah becomes a hallmark of sin, tribal treachery and divine disfavour.[13] God's purposes govern all; it is therefore no accident that Israel's first abortive king should hail from Gibeah. That geographic detail about Saul tragically comments upon all the events of his life — even here in what one commentator has chosen to call "Saul's finest hour."[14] His first military victory is coloured throughout by a narrative pairing of his own town with the town he successfully rescues. As the story proceeds, it will continue to intertwine Saul of Gibeah with the men of Jabesh-Gilead, even to his death and beyond. For now, in his hour of glory the failure of Saul's coming reign is also already foreshadowed by the town God chooses for the man of Gibeah to deliver. And all this without so much as a judgmental word from the narrator or any authoritative character speaking for him.

These points being understood, however, the narrator still reserves his most cutting characterization for Samuel himself. After all, if the story in chap. 11 is, as we are suggesting, about Israel's missed opportunity to reverse a monarchic path leading ultimately to exile, then the final rejoicing of Saul and all the men of Israel (v 15) is ironic in a tragic sense; and with the tragedy goes a sense of sympathy on the part of the reader toward them because of their missed opportunity. We somehow feel that if only Saul and the men of Israel understood, as we already do, that they were being manipulated by Samuel's personal desires for power and prophetic control and by God's impelling desire to underline the dangerous responsibilities of free-will,

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13 Elsewhere in the Bible the situation is similar: Hosea uses Gibeah's name as shorthand for sin and divine judgment: Hos 5:8; 9:9; and 10:9.

14 Peter Miscall, *1 Samuel*, 66.

perhaps things might have turned out differently. By contrast, the words and actions of Samuel in this chapter, as in those that precede and follow, characterize him with a power that no explicit judgments by the narrator could ever accomplish.

Samuel's appetite for control over the man whom God had designated (the *nāgîḏ*) led him, we have suggested, to encourage Saul's prophetic activities with an expansive but ambiguous argument about freedom of action ("for God will be with you" [10:7]). Saul, as a "liberated" prophet-king, paradoxically would be doubly under Samuel's direction: as king he would be limited by Samuel the prophet, as prophet by Samuel the head of the prophets. Saul, by chap. 11, has so been taken in by Samuel's strategems that even as military leader he issues a call-to-arms to Israel markedly fixing his own leadership with Samuel's: "Whoever does not come out after Saul and after Samuel[15] so shall it be done to his oxen!" (10:7) Just as the larger narrative permanently pairs the towns of Jabesh-Gilead and Gibeah, and thereby fixes an evaluative comment upon their notorious union, so also does it bind the fates of Samuel and Saul to such an extent that henceforth their careers will be intimately connected. Perhaps in recompense for forging a detrimental union more determinate than God had intended, Samuel will continue to be plagued with the problem of Saul even after Samuel's death, as chap. 28's account of the calling up of Samuel's spirit by Saul will make clear.

Both Saul and Samuel, therefore, are here bound together in the short-circuiting of the people's plan to put an end to monarchy — Saul, however, less actively than Samuel. When the people command Samuel to bring forward the promoters of the monarchy (v 12), it is Saul who begins the process of deflecting their desires by forbidding any execution on the day upon which "the LORD has wrought deliverance in Israel." (v 13) His argument is

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15 It is almost predictable that "and after Samuel" is usually seen as "redactional and secondary" (e.g., McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 203).

especially effective: not only does it avoid punishment for those who had promoted kingship, it also gives credit where credit is due. The people had stubbornly insisted on having a king like the other nations so that he could "go out before us and fight our battles" (8:20), but Saul now reminds them that it was the LORD who delivered Israel, not himself whether judge or king.

At this point in the narrative Samuel *intervenes* by issuing a call that recognizes the people's statement in v 12 as the disavowal of kingship it actually is. With prophetic authority he commands the people to follow him to Gilgal, there to re-establish the royal course they had just rejected. Whatever their motivation, be it obedience to God's prophet or simply a superficial repentance (there is a narrative gap here) the people follow Samuel, their prophet, with Saul's obvious cooperation. Once more they make Saul king. (v 15) Given Samuel's disastrous manipulation of them following their statements in vv 12-13, the irony of the great joy with which the chapter ends is not lost upon the reader. For Saul, his unwillingness to kill those who deserved to die will come back to haunt him in chap. 15, when he is again unwilling to put someone to death. Which chapter's account of the king's refusal-to-execute is more fundamental to his failures as leader of Israel is not difficult for the reader to decide: the first refusal foreshadows and forms the basis for the second.

Samuel will consolidate his control over the people and Saul in chap. 12, yet his memory there of the events of chap. 11 will turn out to be deficient in a self-serving way. By then old and grey, he will recall that the people, not himself, had insisted on a king during the events surrounding the siege of Jabesh-Gilead. The narrator, confident that the reader will pick up the discrepancy, thereby highlights Samuel's conveniently faulty memory.[16] Samuel's speech

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16 Even if one were to accept the proposed emendation of 11:12 and thus implicate the people in a continuing insistence on kingship, Samuel's statement in 12:12 will still glaringly underplay his crucial intervention in commanding and carrying out the renewal of the kingdom

in chap. 12, as we shall see, is markedly defensive; this self-righteous tone of a prophet who protests too much is another of the narrator's subtle but effective means of highlighting Samuel's self-interested actions with respect to Saul and the kingship. Details such as this constitute the author's abiding picture of Samuel throughout these chapters. Chap. 11, like the preceding and following chapters, provides us with a particularly uncomplimentary portrait of Israel's last judge and first king-maker; it actually implicates Samuel in the people's royal sin more devastatingly than anywhere else in the story.

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in 11:14-15. In chap. 12 Samuel will try to put all the sin of kingship upon the people's shoulders, whereas by this point in the story he will have become kingship's greatest promoter.

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PERSIFLAGE IN PSALM 137*

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The scholar to whose memory this volume is dedicated was an eloquent advocate of the application of lessons learned from Ugaritic literature to the study of the Hebrew scriptures.[1] Peter Craigie was persuaded of the value of Ugaritic not only for the light it sheds on the history, language, and religion of Canaan in the early biblical period, but also for its usefulness in the study of biblical poetry:

> Almost all the Ugaritic material which deserves the term *literature* is poetic in form. The study of Ugaritic poetry has thus created a better understanding of the nature of Syro–Palestinian poetry, poetic structure, poetic devices and the like. This broad general knowledge provided by Ugaritic poetry has been of more assistance in the general study of Hebrew poetry than has, for example, the study of Akkadian or Egyptian poetry, for with respect to both language and poetic forms, Ugaritic poetry has generally the closest affinity to Hebrew poetry. These advances are aptly illustrated in the growth in the knowledge of the nature and forms of parallelism which has resulted from a study of the Ugaritic texts.[2]

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* This essay owes a great deal to two of Peter Craigie's colleagues, Professors J. Clear and O. Loretz. The topic itself was suggested to me by Professor Clear, and builds upon one of his theories. It was he who introduced me to Professor Craigie at a regional meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Vancouver. The system of poetic analysis employed in the essay was developed by Professor Loretz who has given generously of his time clarifying its details to me. My thanks go to both of them.

1 Cf. P.C. Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) esp. chap. V: "The Old Testament and Ugaritic Studies."

2 *Idem*, "Ugarit and the Bible: Progress and Regress in 50 years of Literary Study," *Ugarit in Retrospect* (ed. G.D. Young; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981) 109.

Poetics, as is well known, is an area of Biblical Studies whose complexities make any help welcome. Despite enormous interest, industry and ingenuity, generations of scholars have been unable to construct a consistent, verifiable, reasonable description of the principles upon which Hebrew poetry was composed. The bulk of their effort has gone into attempts to define its metrical principles. Study of the Ugaritic texts, which lack any traditional construal or arrangement of verse–units, and which have not been subject to the effects of millennia of continual use and textual growth such as is the case with the Hebrew Bible, has shown that the notion of "meter" does not seem to fit the poetry of Ugarit at all. This, in turn, has brought scholars to question the appropriateness of its application to Hebrew poetry as well.

Historically the problem has been that metrical systems developed to describe West Semitic poetry inevitably define the units which they claim form the basis of the poetic meter in such elastic terms that these units can be manipulated to suit the requirements of the system which set out to describe them. D. Pardee has evaluated two recently published systems for the analysis of meter in West Semitic poetry.[3] The system of syllable counting advocated by D.K. Stuart,[4] for example, only works if one accepts Stuart's claim that the composers of Ugaritic poetry were quite inconsistent in their use of case endings, and were equally arbitrary in their employment of *yaqtul* and *yaqtulu* verbal forms.[5] This claim is "proven" by the fact that only by vocalizing the texts thus do they conform to Stuart's notion of meter.[6] Pardee observes, "I believe, however, that the regularity of syllabic

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3 D. Pardee, "Ugaritic and Hebrew Metrics," *Ugarit in Retrospect*, 113-130.

4 D.K. Stuart, *Studies in Early Hebrew Metrics* (Missoula: Scholars, 1976).

5 Pardee, "Metrics," 118 n. 22.

6 For other tendentious elements in Stuart's treatment of the text, cf. *ibid.*, 119ff.

count is attained in too many cases by an arbitrary and unverifiable variation in vocalization. The extent of arbitrary vocalization (in the example cited four out of seven units are rendered uniform by internally inconsistent means) appears to me to invalidate the method."[7]

In his examination of the system of "word–meter" proposed by B. Margalit,[8] Pardee summarizes Margalit's definition of "verse–units," the basis of his analysis: "... only those words function as verse units which meet certain criteria: they must be between two and five syllables and must occur in certain syntactic environments. Thus words of the 'normal' length of two to five syllables may appear in various combinations and with monosyllabic words in three word sequences which have only two verse units, while various two word combinations may have only one verse unit."[9] Pardee adds to this bewildering clarification the observation: "It appears to me that a system which necessitates so many expansions, contractions, and bridgings of words (=*metra*) is not based on the word as the basic unit of poetic structure ...,"[10] and in another context remarked, "I find ( ) B. Margalit's attempts to define 'word-units' in Ugaritic to be tortured, and only illustrative of the fact that lines of poetry in Ugaritic tend to be of roughly comparable length ...."[11]

Despite the fundamental disagreement on the "metrics" of Ugaritic (and Hebrew) poetry, this latter feature mentioned by Pardee, namely that the individual lines which make up a colon of Ugaritic verse tend to be of the same general length, may be termed, along with parallelism, "characteristic" of this poetry. While on the surface this does not sound like an

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7 *Ibid.*, 120.

8 B. Margalit, "Introduction to Ugaritic Prosody," *UF* 7 (1975) 289-313.

9 Pardee, "Metrics," 123.

10 *Ibid.*

11 D. Pardee, "*mʿrôrāt-pʿtanīm* 'Venom' in Job 20, 14," *ZAW* 91(1979) 403-5 n. 21.

enormous help for understanding Northwest Semitic poetry, it in fact proves to be a very useful datum. It invites the question, however, by what criteria does one determine the length of the lines? The subjectivity of Stuart's syllable counting system and Margalit's word–meter method, pointed out by Pardee, eliminates them as candidates. Pardee himself generally includes three figures with each line of poetry he analyzes: a word count, a syllable count, and what he calls a "vocable count" in which a short vowel and a consonant count as one unit and a long vowel counts as two. This system, he notes, was suggested and subsequently abandoned by Freedman,[12] but Pardee finds it, "a useful means alongside word and syllable counts, of indicating the approximate length of line ...."[13] The subjective element of word and syllable counting is not substantially reduced by Pardee's disinclination to use such counts as the basis for any theory of metrics. Furthermore, his incorporation of vocable counts, though again no claim for them is made other than their usefulness for establishing approximate line length, seems to me questionable for two reasons: First, while it was *the* principle of composition for Greek and Latin poetry (and under their influence that of Arabic poetry), there is as yet no compelling evidence that syllable quantity (a function of vocal length and in some cases of consonantal doubling) was a factor in the composition of early Semitic poetry; and second, it is difficult to suppose that a system employing an admittedly unproven theory of composition for this poetry (that of vocal quantity) is the best way of determining the approximate length of a line.

In the quest for a method of poetic analysis as free as possible from subjective presuppositions about the nature of the composition of West–Semitic poetry O. Loretz has suggested an elegantly simple solution — the counting of

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12 Cf. D.N. Freedman, "Strophe and Meter in Exodus 15," *A Light unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in honour of Jacob M. Meyers* (Gettysburg Theological Studies 4; ed. H.N. Bream, R.D. Heim, and C.A. Moore; Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974) 169ff.

13 Pardee, "Metrics," 119.

consonants:

> Denn zählt man die Konsonanten der einzelnen Stichen, dann erhält man die Grundlagen für eine Statistik der poetischen Einheiten, die unabhängig von metrischen Theorien ist. Auf diesem Wege gelangen wir zu einer quantitativen Beschreibung, die, wenn nicht alles, so doch wenigstens etwas über die Sprache aussagt. Wir erhalten eine höchst abstrakte Aussage, die weder in ihrer Begrenzung noch in ihrem Aussagewert mißdeutet werden sollte: Es verbleibt uns ohne Berücksichtigung von Ton, Musik, Betonung, Rhythmus und Vokalen nur der nackte Konsonantenbestand, d.h. nur ein Teil des Ganzen.[14]

By sticking to the one feature of the text which is empirically verifiable, Loretz circumvents the danger of *petitio principi* posed by systems of poetic analysis such as those mentioned above, which claim to explain the principles by which the poetry was composed. By including *matres lectionis*, he avoids incorporating into the method the debate over the comprehensiveness of the reflection of long vowels in the writing system. Colometry — the measurement of lines within cola — as proposed by Loretz is intended as a means rather than an end, and one which, " ... versteht sich selbst als wissenschaftliche Methode, die von jedermann überprüfbar ist," and further, "ein Arbeitsinstrument, das noch nicht eine metrische Theorie voraussetzt."[15]

Comparison of early and late examples of Hebrew verse makes clear that Hebrew poetry evolved and techniques changed during the course of the millennium of biblical composition. If we assume that the changes seen in the later period reflect less "revolutions" from outside poetic influences than evolution within the Canaanite poetic tradition — as represented by Ugaritic and early Hebrew

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14 O. Loretz, "Die Analyse der ugaritischen und hebräischen Poesie mittels Stichometrie und Konsonantenzählung," *UF* 7 (1975) 267.

15 *Ibid.*, 269 and 268. For a more detailed exposition of the principles of Loretz's system, cf. *idem*, "Kolometrie ugaritischer und hebräischer Poesie: Grundlagen, informationstheoretische und literaturwissenschaftliche Aspekte," *ZAW* 98 (1986) 249-66.

verse — it follows that the principles operative in the composition of this poetry at an early stage will be present, if only vestigially, in the later stages. Again the advantage of a purely descriptive method of analysis is patent: presupposing nothing about the principles by which the poetry was composed, it simply describes the poetry (of whatever period) and is not forced to account for features of later poetry which diverge from earlier "norms." Loretz writes: "(Die Konsonantenzählung) ersetzt ( ) keineswegs alle anderen Sachverhalte, die bei der Analyse zu berücksichtigen sind (z.B. Parallelismus membrorum, Chiasmus, Alliteration, usw.) ...(Sie) ist in Verein mit der Stichometrie sowohl bei der ug. und altheb. Poesie als auch bei der späteren heb. anwendbar, in der ältere Formen verlassen oder verändert werden (z.B. Enjambement)."[16]

"Psalm 137," writes D.N. Freedman, "is one of the few poems in the Bible concerning the date and provenience of which there is general scholarly agreement. It is reasonably certain that it was composed in Babylon during the first half of the sixth century B.C.E. It echoes vividly the experience and emotions of those who were taken captive, and may, therefore, be assigned to the first generation of exiles."[17] There are a number of notable dissenters from this general scholarly consensus, among them S. Mowinckel, A. Lauha, P. Ackroyd, and recently U. Kellermann.[18] The latter writes:

> Wo hat der Psalmist zum ersten Mal solche Klage und solchen Fluch angestimmt? Er berichtet in v. 1-4 in zeitlicher und räumlicher Distanz vom Exilsort in der Form erklärender Rückschau; also wird er inzwischen das babylonische Exil verlassen haben. Man muß jedoch in diesen Versen mit Rückschlüssen auf das Leben des Psalmisten vorsichtig sein;

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16 Loretz, "Konsonantenzählung," 269.

17 D.N. Freedman, "The Structure of Psalm 137," *Near Eastern Studies in Honour of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. H. Goedicke; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1971) 187.

18 Cf. U. Kellermann, "Psalm 137," *ZAW* 90 (1978) 51 for references.

> immerhin wäre es auch möglich, daß er in der Redeform der 1. pers. pl. sich mit den Eindrücken der Angesprochen bzw. Zuhörer identifiziert, selbst also gar nicht das Exil erlebt hat.[19]

More is mooted than place of composition and likely identity of composer: there are several views on the genre and Sitz im Leben of the psalm as well. Kellerman summarizes them as follows:[20]

> *Gunkel viewed it as a wholly original poem whose introduction suggests that a lament should follow, but what comes is, in fact, poetic story–telling.
>
> *Mowinckel saw in the psalm the composition of a wandering levitical minstrel.
>
> *Westermann reckoned that Psalm 137 wasn't so much a psalm as a folksong.
>
> *Fohrer, following Glombitza, classified the psalm as a non–cultic song expressing the composer's personal feelings, and dated it to the post–exilic period.
>
> *Weiser, though suggesting no classification himself, cited earlier commentators to the effect that the psalm depicts the personal impressions of a returning exile at the sight of the destroyed Jerusalem.

Kellerman himself suggests that the psalm is to be seen in two lights: on the one hand it is a mixture of folk–lament, curse against a foreign people, and a song of Zion; on the other hand it represents a song which was (or was intended to be) sung before the community gathered on Zion.[21] "Zum Psalm als ganzem fehlen Parallelen nach Form und Inhalt, aus denen man nach den Grundsätzen einen Sitz im Leben erschließen könnte. Der Psalm ist ein Stück *sui generis*."[22]

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19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*, 52-53.

21 *Ibid.*, 53-54.

22 *Ibid.*

This psalm, frequently reckoned to contain the artfully structured formulation of the emotions and impressions of a single composer yields the following picture when analyzed colometrically:

1.1	*'l nhrwt bbbl*	11	Beside the streams in Babylon,[23]
1.2	*šm yšbnw gm bkynw*	14	There we sat and wept.
1.3	*bzkrnw 't ṣywn*	12	When we thought of Zion;
2.1	*'l 'rbym btwkh*	12	Beside the poplars in her midst,
2.2	*tlynw knrwtynw*	13	We hung up/strung our lyres.
3.1	*ky šm š'lwnw šwbynw dbry šyr*	23	Because there our captors demanded of us the words of a song,
3.2	*wtwllynw śmḥh*	12	Our abductors,[24] joy:
3.3	*šyrw lnw mšyr ṣywn*	15	"Sing us one of Zion's songs!"
4.1	*'yk nšyr 't šyr YHWH*	16	How can we sing Yahweh's song
4.2	*'l 'dmt nkr*	9	on foreign soil?
5.1	*'m 'škḥk yrwšlm*	13	If I forget you, Jerusalem,
5.2	*tškḥ ymyny*	9	May my right hand wither!
6.1	*tdbq lšwny lḥky*	13	May my tongue stick to my palate,
6.2	*'m l' 'zkrky*	10	If I don't remember you!

[23] On the reading *bbbl* in 11QPs[a], cf. Freedman, "Structure of Psalm 137," 191.

[24] On the interpretation of this *hapax legomenon*, cf. Kellerman, "Psalm 137," 45 n. c.

6.3 *'m l' 'lh 't yrwšlm*	16	Surely I will ascend Jerusalem
6.4 *'l r'š śmḥty*	10	with joy upon my head![25]
7.1 *zkr YHWH lbny 'dwm*	15	Remember, Yahweh, regarding the Edom
7.2 *'t ywm yrwšlm*	11	the day of Jerusalem;
7.3 *h'mrym 'rw 'rw*	12	those who said, "Strip! Strip!
7.4 *'d hyswd bh*	9	down to her foundations!
8.1 *bt bbl hšdwdh*	12	Daughter Babylon, Destroyer —
8.2 *'šry šyšlm lk*	11	Happy he who renders you
8.3 *'t gmwlk šgmlt lnw*	15	the payment you gave us!
9.1 *'šry šy'ḥz wnps*	13	Happy he who seizes and smashes
9.2 *'t 'llyk 'l hsl'*	13	your babies on the rocks!

*Vv 1 and 2 form a structurally balanced set of complimentary bicola:

1.1 *'l nhrwt bbbl*	11	Beside the streams in Babylon,
1.2 *šm yšbnw gm bkynw*	14	There we sat and wept.
1.3 *bzkrnw 't ṣywn*	12	When we thought of Zion;
2.1 *'l 'rbym btwkh*	12	Beside the poplars in her midst,

25 Detailed defense of this translation is given in Freedman, "Structure of Psalm 137," 197ff..

2.2	*tlynw knrwtynw*	14 We hung/strung up our lyres.

1.1 and 2.1 are parallel to each other and of comparable length (11:12), as are 1.2 and 2.2 (14:14). V 1.3 is structurally independent of the two bicola. Because it interrupts the parallelism, it is perhaps to be seen as a later addition to the poem. Furthermore, it seeks to explain in explicit terms something that is quite clear in what follows. If it is a secondary addition to the text, it is a well executed one, having the same physical proportions as the first stichoi in each bicolon (1.1 and 2.1), and serving as the point around which they center.

*Analysis of v 3 as it stands in the MT shows a colometry sufficiently anomalous to justify suspicion that the original text has been altered:

3.1	*ky šm š'lwnw šwbynw dbry šyr*	23 Because there our captors demanded of us the words of a song,
3.2	*wtwlylynw śmḥh*	12 Our abductors, joy:
3.3	*šyrw lnw mšyr ṣywn*	15 "Sing us one of Zion's songs!"

3.1 seems disproportionately long, 3.2 a bit short. If it is correct to include 3.3 with the other two stichoi as a poetic unit, then the facts that 3.3 forms a syntactic unit independent of 3.1 and 3.2, and that it is closer in length to vv 1 and 2 may prove useful for determining the original form of 3.1 and 3.2.

It is noteworthy that this is the only passage in the Hebrew scriptures in which the "words of a song" are referred to as *dbry šyr*. This is, apart from the present context, invariably expressed *dbry šyrh*.[26] It is also noteworthy that this is the only passage in which *śmḥh* as an abstract entity is "demanded." Freedman has suggested that

26 Cf. Deut 31:30; 32:34; 2 Sam 22:1; Ps 18:1.

we should bear in mind that *šyr*, "often denotes a happy song suitable for festive occasions," and went on to say of the parallelism of *šyr* and *śmḥh* in this verse: "... the terms are complementary and should be combined as their association in other contexts suggests: cf. Gen. 31:27, Is. 30:29. Reading them together, we arrive at the following sense: 'words of a song of joy, i.e. joyous lyrics.' Our contention is that the poet has constructed a sophisticated, stylized quatrain by skilfully rearranging the elements of a straightforward declarative sentence, which ran approximately as follows: 'For there our mocking captors demanded of us the lyrics of a happy song.'"[27]

While Freedman's blending of the semantics of *šyr* and *śmḥh* is perhaps possible, the argumentation for this procedure is not convincing. It seems much more likely, in my view, that somewhere along the line the word *dbry* was moved from *śmḥh* to *šyr*. Returning it to its original place (at least according to this analysis) recommends itself on several scores: 1) it makes unnecessary Freedman's semantic stretch from "joy" to "words of a song of joy, i.e. joyous lyrics"; 2) it restores logical parallelism to the lines (*šyr // dbry śmḥh*); 3) it eliminates the anomalous expression *dbry šyr*; 4) it restores the alliterative "purity" of 3.1; and 5) it reduces the length of 3.1 from 23 to 19 consonants, and increases that of 3.2 from 12 to 16.

The introductory words *ky šm*, apart from having a somewhat more prosaic than prosodic flavor, introduce a second explanation for the sorrowing depicted in vv 1 and 2 which contradicts the first in 1.3. There the sadness was attributed to thoughts of Zion; in 3.1 the implication of *ky šm* is that being forced by their captors to sing had caused the weeping. Because 1.3 and 3.1 (at least the *ky*) contradict each other, they must stem from different periods in the psalm's development. The words *ky šm* are certainly not essential to the line — without them v 3 simply relates the

27 Freedman, "Structure of Psalm 137," 192-93.

incident for which vv 1 and 2 set the scene. Moreover, their removal restores a line length of 15 consonants in 3.1, much closer to the 16 of 3.2 and the 15 of 3.3, and thus much more in keeping with Canaanite–Hebrew poetic tradition.

Application of the above recommended emendations yields the following:

3.1	*š'lwnw šwbynw šyr*	15	Our captors demanded a song of us,
3.2	*wtwlylynw dbry śmḥh*	16	Our abductors words of joy:
3.3	*šyrw lnw mšyr ṣywn*	15	"Sing us one of Zion's songs!"

*V 4 as arranged by *BHK* appears:

4.1	*'yk nšyr 't šyr YHWH*	16	How can we sing Yahweh's song
4.2	*'l 'dmt nkr*	9	on foreign soil?

As arranged by *BHS*:

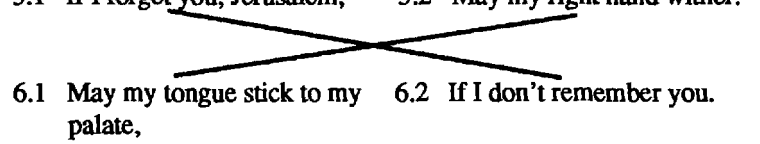
4.1	*'yk nšyr*	7	How can we sing
4.2	*'t šyr YHWH*	9	Yahweh's song
4.3	*'l 'dmt nkr*	9	on foreign soil?

No division of this verse, no arrangement or rearrangement of its elements, no appeals to meter, to parallelism, to alliteration can alter the fact that the verse is a straightforward rhetorical question written in sterling Hebrew prose. The shift from the request for "*a* song of *Zion*" to a profession of unwillingness to sing "*the* song of *Yahweh*" may also be seen as reflecting the independence of prose v 4 from the poetic vv 1-3. The compatible line lengths achieved by the arrangement of *BHS* is in itself not helpful. Though colometric analysis exploits the observation that the elements of a single colon in Northwest Semitic poetry tend to be of the same approximate length this in no way implies that lines

of the same general length are necessarily poetic. Thus, for reasons that will become clear below, v 4 is to be analyzed:

4.1 *'yk nšyr 't šyr YHWH 'l 'dmt nkr* 25

*Vv 5.1-6.2, as is often pointed out, form a neat chiastic unit:



It is noteworthy that despite this unambiguous structure, Freedman's notions of meter compel him to rearrange the lines contrary to the sense:[28]

If I forget thee, Jerusalem, 9
May my right hand wither 5
May my tongue stick 5
To my palate, if I remember thee not! 9

Those elements of the chiasm which are not semantically balanced are colometrically balanced:

5.1 *'m 'škḥk yrwšlm*	13	=	6.1 *tdbq lšwny lḥky*	13
5.2 *tškḥ ymyny*	9	=	6.2 *'m l' 'zkrky*	10

*The fact that 6.3 begins with the word *'m*, as does 5.1 and 6.2, is taken by some as evidence that 5.1-6.4 forms a poetic unit. Kellermann,[29] for example recognizes the structural connection of 5.1-6.2 with the comment: "Der Abschnitt verrät einen chiastischen Aufbau in Parallelismen," but goes on to say, "so stehen die drei mit *'m* eingeleiteten Konditionalsätze parallel zueinander und bilden v. 5b und 6a^{a} einen synthetischen Parallelismus." Several features mark 6.3-6.4 as a separate unit: 1) it is not integrated into the chiasm formed by vv 5.1-6.2; 2) whereas vv 5.1-6.2

28 *Ibid.*, 196.

29 Kellermann, "Psalm 137," 49.

address Jerusalem directly, 6.3-6.4 refer to it in the third person; 3) whereas 5.1-6.2 contain explicit oaths (if *x*, then *y*), 6.3 uses the formulation *'m l'* as an asseveration "certainly," which is only historically related to oath formulae;[30] 4) while 5.1-6.2 are quite negative in tone, 6.3-6.4 are positive and optimistic; 5) while not drastically so, 6.3 is somewhat longer than the first elements of the other two bicola (5.1 and 6.1). The verse is thus to be seen either as an independent bicolon or a prose line of 26 consonants.

6.3 *'m l' 'lh 't yrwšlm*	16	Surely I will ascend Jerusalem
6.4 *'l t'š śmḥty*	10	with joy upon my head.

*One problem posed by v 7 is determining who is supposed to remember what. Freedman translates the first part of the verse: "Yahweh, recall to Edom's sons / the day of Jerusalem."[31] In the accompanying commentary, however, he argues that the preposition *lĕ* when followed by *zkr* in the imperative refers to the "personal object" (?), but that the direct object in the verse is *'et yôm yĕrûšālēm* (sic). He clearly contradicts his own translation with the comment: "The traditional analysis and translation are therefore inevitable and correct: 'Yahweh, remember Jerusalem's day (of catastrophe) in respect of the Edomites.'" Most other treatments of the passage are in agreement that it is indeed Yahweh who is implored to remember the day of Jerusalem,[32] though the clear implication is that he is to

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30 Cf. *HALAT* 1, 58b "*'m l' ...* gewiß, sicherlich"; cf. also Jouõn, *Grammaire de l'Hebreu biblique* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1947) 165a; Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* 3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1966) 117.

31 Freedman, "Structure of Psalm 137," 199.

32 So, e.g., P. Auffret, "Essai sur la structure littéraire du psaume 137," *ZAW* 92 (1980) 347, Kellermann, "Psalm 137," 44. One dissenter of note is M. Dahood, who reckoned that the *l* on *lbny 'dwm* was vocative (cf. M. Dahood, "The Independent Personal Pronoun in the Oblique Case in Hebrew," *CBQ* 32 (1970) 87).

recall it to the detriment of the Edomites.[33]

A second problem posed by v 7 is poetic division. *BHK* did not subdivide the first half of the verse, but separated the second half into two parts. *BHS* divided the first half of the verse into three parts, the second into two. Colometrically their divisions yield:

BHK

zkr YHWH lbny 'dwm 't ywm yrwšlm	26
h'mrym 'rw 'rw	12
'd hyswd bh	9

BHS

zkr YHWH	7
lbny 'dwm	8
't ywm yrwšlm	11
h'mrym 'rw 'rw	12
'd hyswd bh	9

Freedman divides the text as follows:

zkr YHWH lbny 'dwm	15
't ywm yrwšlm	11
h'mrym 'rw	9
'rw 'd hyswd bh	12

It would seem once again that the difficulty in analyzing the poetic structure of the verse is due in large part to its being prose. No part of the verse stands in poetic parallelism to any other part, though one might say that the entire second half of the verse is "parallel to" (more accurately "modifies") *bny 'dwm*. As with v 4 above, it is to be analyzed:

7.1	*zkr YHWH lbny 'dwm 't ywm yrwšlm*	26
7.2	*h'mrym 'rw 'rw 'd hyswd bh*	21

*Vv 8 and 9 quite clearly belong together. Just as clearly,

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33 Cf. the rendition of *zkr* in *HALAT* 1, 259a, "sich erinnern ... zu ungunsten."

the first words of v 8 must be seen as an introductory addressal:

8.1	*bt bbl hšdwdh*	12 Daughter Babylon, Destroyer —

The rest of v 8 and v 9 contain two sentences, both introduced with the formula "Happy is he who ...." One could, perhaps, argue that 8.2-8.3 form a single poetic line parallel to 9.1-9.2, but apart from their identical introductory formulae, there are no conventional characteristics of parallelism present. Furthermore, lines of poetry containing 26 consonants would be unusually long. It is once again only their presence in a psalm which would bring anyone to consider them as poetry — they are, in fact, prose:

8.1	*'šry šyšlm lk 't gmwlk šgmlt lnw*	26
7.2	*'šry šy'ḥz wnpṣ 't 'llyk 'l hsl'*	26

Whether the psalm was composed in exile or in Palestine, the composer presupposed in his hearers an understanding of the circumstances of the exile. The story he tells is of a group of prisoners in a foreign land, asked by their keepers to sing a song from the homeland, a native tune, something that to a Babylonian prison guard would sound exotic and strange, something to break the monotony. Whether or not this is an accurate reflection of conditions in the exile, these are the circumstances presupposed by the introductory verses (1-3). The rhetorical question in v 4 is generally taken to be a desperate declaration that the exiles simply cannot sing Yahweh's song on foreign soil, and translated, "How can we sing ...." But the Hebrew imperfect, the reader will recall, performs more modal functions than just the expression of "ability."[34] Thus, the verb *nšyr* could as easily be translated, "How shall we sing ...," "How will we sing ...," "How do we sing ...."

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34 Cf. R.J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax* (2nd ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975) nos. 167-75 (pp. 30-32).

In an unpublished study,[35] J. Clear suggested that the vv following this introduction make it clear that the singers in the story (be they fictional or historical) exploited the fact that their Babylonian prison guards were not speakers of classical Hebrew. They show their defiance of their captors not by refusing to sing, rather by what they choose to sing. They begin with a nationalistic verse in which they swear never to forget the homeland, Jerusalem the Holy City (vv 5, 6.1-6.2). This is followed by the optimistic declaration: "I shall indeed ascend Jerusalem, with joy upon my head!", implying that the captives considered their status as such temporary. Though we are not told so explicitly, there is no reason not to suppose that the guards stood about enjoying the concert they had requested (again, whether it took place in reality or in the mind of the poet).

From the nationalistic declaration of loyalty to Jerusalem, and the statement of intent to return to her triumphantly, the singer(s) — real or imagined — became a bit bolder and introduced the topic of revenge for their exile and the destruction of their home. At first they are content to excoriate Edom for her complicity in the overthrow of Jerusalem (cf. Ezek 25:12-14 and 35:5-9, Lam 4:21). But in the end, their guards smiling ignorantly, they wish on Babylon what they have suffered at her hands, and express the gruesome hope that someday, someone will come and smash the children of their audience against the rocks. The deception depicted in this episode, and the defiance of a hated enemy it describes, whether it actually happened or not, must have been a great psychological salve to the frustrations of a defeated, humiliated, imprisoned people.

The major implications of this interpretation for the question of the period and location of the psalm's composition are clear. Regardless of whether or not the events depicted took place, the need for an account of a show of defiance (even a "safe" defiance such as this) would

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35 Delivered to the Seattle Society for Old Testament Study, April 1979.

have been far greater during the exile than after the return to Palestine.

The structure of the piece may in fact imply that an actual event underlies the psalm. While vv 1.1-1.2; 2.1-2.2; 3.1-3.2 are all well composed poetic lines describing the *mise en scène* very vividly, and forming with 3.3 a unified, seven-line introduction (by its own admission composed after the events it purports to describe), what follows is predominantly prose. The exceptions are vv 5.1-6.2, though one line of poetry isolated from its context is not always identifiable as poetry.

It is interesting to note that though the prose vv 4, 7, 8 and 9 do not fall into stichoi characteristic of Canaanite-Hebrew poetry, they are all approximately the same length (4 = 25, 7.1 = 26, 7.2 = 21, 8 = 26, 9 = 26).[36] If there was, in fact, an incident in which the exiles sang to their captors as this psalm maintains, and if that incident is in fact recorded in Psalm 137, it is reasonable that the words of anger and defiance in vv 4, 7, 8 and 9, while not themselves poetry and not analyzable as poetry, were words sung to a tune the length of whose lines accommodated words containing approximately 13 letters. This fits with the one sure poetic excerpt in the second half of the psalm (v 5.1-6.2) which was analyzed 13:9 / 13:10. The length of the prose lines suggests that they could have been divided in half and made into artificial bicola quite easily — three of the five prose lines count 26 consonants.[37] The 11 consonants forming the first three words of v 8 could have been fit into a scheme of bicola whose stichoi were approximately 13 consonants long without any problem.

The fact that the prison guards had requested the exiles to sing is generally forgotten in the interpretation of this psalm. Only when their interest in hearing music from a distant land is borne in mind throughout one's reading of the psalm can

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36 V 6.3-6.4, which may also be prose, also has 26 consonants.

37 Or, if 6.3-6.4 is to be considered prose, four out of six.

the full effect of the deception it depicts be appreciated. The exiles not only intoned their longing for home and loathing of those associated with and responsible for their capture, they did so under the guise of entertaining the men who held them prisoner. The fact that the psalm consists largely of prose fitted into some sort of poetic form would have been as obvious to a native speaker of classical Hebrew as someone singing non–poetic English sentences to some contemporary tune would be to a native speaker of English. The "captors," on the other hand, had no inkling of what was being sung, and could not have known that what they were hearing was not "one of Zion's songs" — Babylonian prison guards didn't know much about Hebrew poetry, they just knew what they liked.

This essay is offered as a small tribute to the memory of Peter Craigie, two of whose many talents as a scholar I particularly admired: his commitment to common sense, and his interest in promoting scholarship. The former always came through clearly in his lectures, and is still to be found in his written work. The latter manifested itself in his readiness to advise and assist younger scholars, and in his willingness to invest time and effort in projects such as the Ugaritic Newsletter — simply to provide others in the field with a needed tool. Ugaritic and Biblical Studies will continue to profit from Peter's scholarship and example. It is a privilege to have known him.

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CAN A DOCTRINE OF PROVIDENCE BE BASED ON THE OLD TESTAMENT?

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At the climax of the story of Joseph, when Joseph, who has become the ruler of Egypt reveals his identity to his brothers who have come to buy grain, and who had earlier sold him into slavery in Egypt, Joseph speaks the following words to his brothers:

> Do not be distressed, or angry with yourselves because you sold me here; for God sent me before you to preserve life ... so it was not you who sent me here, but God (Gen 45:5-8).

Later, in the story, Joseph says to his brothers:

> You meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring it about that many people should be kept alive, as they are today (Gen 50:20).

When the story of Joseph is mentioned in Psalm 105, it is in the following words:

> When he summoned a famine on the land, and broke every staff of bread, he had sent a man ahead of them, Joseph, who was sold as a slave (Ps 105:16-22).

The standard modern commentaries are agreed that these passages indicate a belief in providence on the part of the Old Testament writers concerned. Thus, S.R. Driver comments on Gen 45:5, "They are to recognize a providential purpose in what had been done."[1] Skinner remarks:

> With singular generosity Joseph reassures them by pointing out the providential purpose which had over-ruled their crime

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[1] S.R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis* (11th ed.; London: Methuen & Co., 1920) 362.

> for good ... The profoundly religious conviction which recognizes the hand of God, not merely in miraculous interventions, but in the working out of divine ends through human agency and what we call secondary causes, is characteristic of the Joseph narrative amongst the legends of Genesis.[2]

Gunkel goes so far as to describe the belief in providence displayed in the Joseph narrative as "modern," and he sees an enormous gulf between the subtlety in which the divine action is conceived in the Joseph story as compared with the crude encounters between God and men in passages such as Abraham and the three men (Gen 18) and Jacob's wrestling with God or the angel in Gen 32.[3]

For von Rad, vv 5-8 of Gen 45 are the point at which the narrator of the Joseph story "indicates clearly for the first time what is of paramount importance for him ... God's hand which in all the confusions of human guilt directs everything to a gracious goal." [4]

These passages might be called the classical passages of the Old Testament when it comes to the subject of providence; but it is not difficult to think of other passages that imply belief in God's control and direction of historical events.

> Ho, Assyria, the rod of my anger, the staff of my fury,
> Against a godless nation I send him

is a famous passage in Isa 10:5-6. In Isa 40-55, God is presented as the lord of history, bringing Cyrus victoriously from the east, trampling on rulers as on mortar, as the potter treads clay (41:25). Another example could be taken from the book of Jeremiah, where the prophet insists that God is

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[2] J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1930) 487.

[3] H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (HKAT; 3rd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910) 459.

[4] G. von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (OTL; 2nd ed.; London: SCM, 1963) 393.

fighting against his own city and that the King of Babylon will be victorious.

A careful and discriminating discussion of the content of the Old Testament as a whole in regard to providence can be found in volume 2 of Eichrodt's *Old Testament Theology*. Eichrodt distinguishes between (a) providence as God's ordering of the world and of the fortunes of Israel and Judah and (b) providence as God's guidance of the individual. In considering God's ordering of the world and of the fortunes of Israel and Judah, Eichrodt[5] makes a further distinction between what is found in the writings deriving from priestly circles, and what is found in the narrative/prophetic traditions. The priestly view is concerned with the stability of the created order rather than with events in the life of nations, and although this is an important subject in its own right, it cannot be discussed here.[6]

What will concern us particularly is Eichrodt's treatment of providence as God's control of the fortunes of Israel and Judah and the surrounding nations in first, the narrative traditions and second the prophetic traditions. According to Eichrodt, the events of the Exodus, the wilderness wanderings and the conquest of Canaan were the basis for Israel's belief in God's victorious power and his care for his chosen people. The divine victory and care exhibited in these events became the model that enabled all later historical events to be seen as acts of God "directed to the establishment of his sovereignty."[7] Eichrodt seems to distinguish between belief in providence that arises out of *experience*, especially in happenings such as the Exodus, and belief in providence that is an *interpretation* of events in the light of shared beliefs based upon the testimony of past ages. I would say that this distinction is rather problematical, but the matter cannot be pursued.

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[5] Walther Eichrodt, *Old Testament Theology II* (OTL; London: SCM, 1967) 167-85.

[6] *Ibid.*, 173-74.

[7] *Ibid.*, 168.

The contribution of the prophetic tradition, according to Eichrodt, is to introduce the idea of a "goal of history," which will affect not only Israel but the foreign nations.[8] Eichrodt emphasizes, however, that in general in the Old Testament, God's providence only affects the foreign nations when and as they are in contact with Israel. Israel did not "at once extend to their consideration of the fortunes of foreign nations that which they had experienced in their own destiny, and draw the logical conclusion of God's unified government of the world."[9]

The nearest we come to ideas such as God's *unified* government of the world is in passages such as Isa 2:2-4, where Israelite belief in providence is filled with universal content,[10] and in books such as Daniel and the apocryphal literature, though here, we have the doctrine of world epochs rather than the idea of unified government.[11]

To this summary of Eichrodt's treatment, it is necessary to add reference to two further discussions, so as to reach a more balanced statement of the current position in Old Testament scholarship. The first discussion was initiated by Fohrer early in the 1960s and continued by two of his postgraduate students, Jochen Vollmer and Friedrich Huber. For Fohrer's statement, I refer to his standard work *History of Israelite Religion* [12] although this is not the earliest statement of the position. In discussing the attitude to existence (*Daseinhaltung*) of the prophets, Fohrer categorically rejects any suggestion that these prophets speak of an eternal plan of God. Such plans as God has are highly unpredictable, and it is better to speak of God's intention or decision in each individual complex of events than of an

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8 *Ibid.*, 170-71.

9 *Ibid.*, 169.

10 *Ibid.*, 172; cf. p. 333.

11 *Ibid.*, 173.

12 G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (London: SPCK, 1973).

eternal plan (*urewiger Plan*).[13] Even in the narrative tradition of the Hexateuch (Gen–Josh), God only acts according to a *limited* plan. These books (Gen–Josh) are concerned with God's promise to Abraham that his descendants will possess the land of Canaan. After this promise has been fulfilled, and this limited plan has been realized, life stands under the regime of blessing and punishment. The decisive question becomes whether Israel and Judah will survive in the promised land or not. Fohrer prefers to use the word *Entscheidungs geschichte* (decision history) to refer to these narratives after the settlement, rather than the word *Heilsgeschichte*.[14]

Vollmer's dissertation, published in 1971, examines the use made by Amos, Hosea and Isaiah of Israel's historical traditions.[15] The key to this use is found to be *Entscheidung* — "decision." The prophets do not refer to the past in order to speak speculatively about a divine plan; they talk about the past in order to bring about a practical response on the part of the people. The hearers of the prophets stand under the imminent judgement of God which will lead to their destruction if they do not return to God. Israel's past history, in these circumstances, is used primarily to point up the reality of judgment and to move the listeners to repentance.[16]

Huber concentrates upon Isaiah,[17] and has an interesting section entitled God's power of direction (*Verfügungsgewalt*) over the other nations.[18] Huber

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13 *Ibid.*, 275.

14 *Ibid.*, 275-76. On decision history, cf. pp. 82, 194, 268, 328.

15 J. Vollmer, *Geschichtliche Rückblicke und Motive in der Prophetie des Amos Hosea und Jesaja* (BZAW 119; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971).

16 *Ibid.*, 199-201. On p. 200 Vollmer writes of the "*Entscheidungscharakter der Gegenwart.*"

17 F. Huber, *Jahwe, Juda und die anderen Völker beim Propheten Jesaja* (BZAW 137; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976).

18 *Ibid.*, 183-203.

concludes that Isaiah has indeed a belief in God's direction of other nations, but that this does not amount to action in accordance with a divine plan.[19] Following Fohrer, Huber asserts that God deals with Judah and the other nations in the light of how these nations themselves act (rather like a chess match). But in the case of the foreign nations, what is important is how they behave in relation to Judah.[20] Thus Huber agrees with what we have already seen stated by Eichrodt, that God's control of the nations is asserted only when these nations are in contact with Judah or Israel.

In one respect, Huber disagrees with Eichrodt. We noted that Eichrodt sees in passages such as Isa 2:2-4 the notion of a goal of history, filled with universal content. Huber denies that this is so. Passages such as Isa 2:2-4 see the other nations as coming to Zion. Thus, they are not universal, but merely further examples of God's involvement with the nations where these nations are in contact with Judah or Israel.[21] Isaiah concentrates, according to Huber, on Judah and God's relationship with Judah, and does not express a theology in which God directs the destinies of all the nations, regardless.

The second discussion to which I refer was initiated in 1967 in Albrektson's *History and the Gods*.[22] Albrektson is concerned with the claim that ancient Israel was unique in the ancient Near East in seeing history as the focus of God's revelation.[23] In studying this claim, Albrektson pays considerable attention to the question of whether the Old Testament provides evidence for belief in a divine plan according to which God acts in history. Albrektson concludes that in the prophetic books, it is possible to find

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19 *Ibid.*, 202-3, under "*Ergebnis.*"

20 *Ibid.*, 204-32, and part III of Excursus IV, pp. 230-40.

21 *Ibid.*, 1-2.

22 Bertil Albrektson, *History and the Gods. An Essay on the Idea of Historical Events as Divine Manifestations in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (Lund: Gleerup, 1967).

23 *Ibid.*, 11-15.

the view that God is acting purposefully in certain *limited* series of events. However, he finds no evidence that God is believed to be leading all history to a definite goal according to a fixed plan.[24] In the books of Genesis–Joshua, the writer(s) saw a series of purposeful divine acts leading up to the conquest of Canaan and the establishment of the state, but obviously, this did not embrace the course of history in its entirety.[25] Only in the book of Daniel can Albrektson find the idea of a divine plan, but this concerns not the whole of history, but only a portion of universal history.[26]

We can sum up the results gained so far as follows. With the help of Eichrodt, we are concentrating upon one aspect of providence in the Old Testament, namely, God's government of the world and the control of historical events in the light of an eternal plan. No scholar that I have mentioned has denied that ideas about providence can be found in the Old Testament; but we have seen a desire to make *limited* rather than *universal* claims about how the Old Testament writers thought about providence. Thus Genesis–Joshua are seen to indicate the limited purpose of the establishment of Israel in the promised land. The prophets are said to believe that God controls the destiny of the nations when these nations are in contact with Israel or Judah, but to say nothing about them when they are not in contact with Israel or Judah. Events in the life of Israel and Judah are seen essentially as occasions on which the people were judged or delivered, depending on whether or not they repented. There is even doubt as to whether a goal of history can be discerned. Of course, attention has been focussed upon passages from the Old Testament which support some idea of divine providence. But there are passages which might be said to count against the idea. For example, there is all the material dealing with the relation between God's purposes and human freedom, as in the story

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24 *Ibid.*, 87-88.

25 *Ibid.*, 77-82.

26 *Ibid.*, 88-89.

of Saul, where God's chosen king has to be rejected, or as in all the narratives about the unfaithfulness of the chosen people, or the agonizings about the problem of the prosperity of the wicked.

At this point, the essay could set off in several different directions. It could be asked whether Fohrer and Albrektson have not really over reacted in limiting the view of providence in Genesis–Joshua to something that sees the goal purely in terms of the possession of the land of Canaan. Is not something more far–reaching about God's control of events implied in the texts from the Joseph narrative that I quoted at the beginning?

Again, it could be asked whether there are certain minimum conditions that need to be fulfilled if the word providence is to be used meaningfully. For example, is it necessary to believe that God is guiding events to a definite goal if one is going to believe in providence? Can I believe in providence and be agnostic about the goal, while accepting that God is in control by using events to judge his people or give them prosperity in accordance with their obedience to his laws?

In fact, neither of these possible lines of enquiry will be followed up. Instead, attention will be focussed upon the conceptual framework into which we fit our views of providence when we speak about the subject. Having done that, I shall ask whether any useful results have been gained for an approach to the Old Testament.

Notions of providence have been found in philosophy and theology for a very long time, and have been expressed in terms of at least three world views. I can only refer at this point to standard treatments such as that found in Karl Löwith's *Meaning in History*.[27] On the basis of such treatments, and upon research into the history of Old Testament scholarship, it is reasonable to claim that since the

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[27] Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

first half of the nineteenth century, Old Testament studies have regarded history as an organic, unfolding process directed by God towards a goal. In Germany, such a view was presented from the 1840s by J.C.K. von Hofmann, a scholar whose name is indissolubly linked with the notion of *Heilsgeschichte*.[28] In Britain, a universal idea of history as a process guided by God can be found in the liberal Anglicans, J.C. Hare, Connop Thirlwall and F.D. Maurice, whose thinking was influenced among others by Niebuhr and Lessing.[29]

In my own case and, I suspect, in the case of many other Old Testament scholars, this nineteenth–century view of history was mediated to me by the concept of progressive revelation, a view which regarded Old Testament history as a process of divine education of the Israelite nation, a process under divine direction. I discarded the notion of progressive revelation long ago, but not, I think, the view of history that it implied.[30] And it is into this view of history that I have habitually fitted my notions of providence as I met it in the Old Testament. I suspect — but I cannot prove — that similar assumptions underlie the scholarly views about providence in the Old Testament that I have outlined above. I would suggest that the scholarly consensus in Old Testament studies is that there is such a thing as universal history (Albrektson calls it history with a capital H) and that God can control this history and reveal himself in and through its events. There is also a goal of history which will ultimately make sense of the whole course of history. With regard to the Old Testament, the main question is whether there is evidence that the Old Testament writers held this same universal view of history. A consideration of the Old Testament evidence as the consensus goes, indicates that the

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28 J. W. Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London: S.P.C.K, 1984) 104-11.

29 *Ibid.*, 163ff., 188-91.

30 J.W. Rogerson, "Progressive Revelation: its History and its Value as a Key to Old Testament Interpretation," *Epworth Review* 9 (1982) 73-86.

Old Testament writers did not have this *universal* view, although they certainly had a limited view of God's purposes and of his control of the nations.

My difficulty is that increasingly, I doubt whether it is possible to talk about history as a thing, and whether, in that case, it is possible to speak about God controlling history, or whether there is a goal of history that will explain or make sense of the whole process. If I fairly represented above what I called a consensus in Old Testament scholarship, I feel myself to be more and more alienated from it, and thus less able to use its terms when I think about the Old Testament. This doubting is not a manifestation of religious agnosticism; rather, it arises from a concern not to claim to know more than we can actually know about God's activity in the world. It has become increasingly questionable to me that I should be required to accept that the atrocities of the twentieth century and the injustices of the present-day world are part of a process that will ultimately be seen to be meaningful in all its details. This seems to me to be a view that owes more to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century optimism than it does to the Bible, and it is a view that needs to be exorcised from the conceptual framework in which the Bible is read.

In my perplexity, I have had that dangerous experience of reading a book that has done much to resolve the problem. I say that it is a dangerous experience, because one's rational faculties can be impaired by the psychological impact of a book that seems to answer one's pressing questions. Nonetheless, I intend to outline its position, and then to apply it to the Old Testament. The book is Franz Platzer's *Geschichte–Heilsgeschichte–Hermeneutik: Gotteserfahrung in geschichtsloser Zeit*.[31] It is itself dependent on Hans

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31 Franz Platzer, *Geschichte–Heilsgeschichte–Hermeneutik Gotteserfahrung in geschichtsloser Zeit* (Regensburger Studien zur Theologie, Bd 4; Frankfurt am Main und Bern: Lang, 1976).

Michael Baumgartner's *Kontinuität und Geschichte*,[32] a book that sets a modified narrative theory of history within a Kantian philosophical framework.

Narrative theory of history asserts that we have access to past events only in so far as they are presented in narrative form. Also, it is by means of narrative that we connect events together to form temporal wholes. This does not mean that history is something that *we* construct. There must be as accurate a relation as possible between history–as–what–happened and history as narrative–of–what–happened, and a narrative can be falsified or can require substantial modification in the light of new evidence.

But there is an incompleteness of our knowledge of history–as–what–happened, an incompleteness governed by the fact that where we know something about what happened, we certainly know about that event only *partially*, because there is a limit to what narrative can communicate. A.C. Danto, whose *Analytical Philosophy of History* is a pioneering work in this field,[33] but who is strongly criticized in some respects by Baumgartner,[34] would even claim that our incompleteness derives from our lack of knowledge of the future! To quote one of his examples, a modern historian of astronomy can say that Aristarchus anticipated Copernicus; but nobody could have written this until 1800 years after Aristarchus at the earliest!

Following Baumgartner, Franz Platzer argues that once we recognize the essentially narrative nature of our access to history–as–what–happened, and the staggering incompleteness of our knowledge, we shall find it difficult to speak of history as a thing, or as a process that God can be said to control. This is not to deny that, in theory, there is a

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32 H.M. Baumgartner, *Kontinuität und Geschichte. Zur Kritik und Metakritik der historischen Vernunft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972).

33 A.C. Danto, *Analytical Philosophy of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

34 Baumgartner, *Kontinuität*, 284-94.

totality called history; it is to assert that history as a totality cannot be part of our experience, and that we are thus in no position to speak about it as a process or as having meaning.[35] We must reject the analogy between history as a process and nature as a system — an analogy that is, I believe, implicit in much thinking and speaking about history in Old Testament scholarship.

Platzer asserts that what we claim to be the meaning of events cannot be something contained within those events themselves. The meaning which we give to events is a function of the fact that events have to be narrated if we are to know about them. This does not imply that the meaning of events as narrated is totally subjective, as though the meaning is supplied completely by the narrator. There is a mutual influence from the event upon the narration and back from the narration as conveying the event. The subjective element is not all-dominating, but it cannot be excluded.

It is at this point that both Baumgartner and Platzer turn to Kantian philosophy in order to explain how they understand continuity and thus sense in history, but it is possible to express their viewpoint without going too deeply into the technicalities of Kant. They both hold that it is part of being human that we strive to understand the world, and strive to place events and happenings within contexts that provide meaning. The meaning which we give to events is affected by the orientation from which we narrate them, in the light of the view of the purpose and destiny of mankind that we bring with us. Thus history is written from various standpoints, and we should not so much speak of *the* meaning of history but of meanings in history.

From a Christian standpoint, according to Platzer, a history written to show that God had been acting or guiding certain events is a narrative written from the standpoint of someone with a Christian orientation regarding the nature and destiny of mankind. Thus, *Heilsgeschichte* is not a privileged strand within universal history considered as an

35 Platzer, *Geschichte–Heilsgeschichte–Hermeneutik*, 126-27.

organic process, in which can be discerned the workings of God according to a plan. *Heilsgeschichte* is a narrative about certain events written by people with faith in God as the judge, saviour and true end of mankind.

This may, of course, seem to be a hopelessly minimalist position, opening the door to any way of interpreting history that catches a person's fancy, without there being any way of discovering whether a particular interpretation is true or false. It is not quite as bad as this, of course. Any writing of history that is not prepared to be open to correction in the face of historical research rules itself out of consideration. At the same time, admitting that there are many possible interpretations of historical events makes room for faith. A Christian is someone who belongs to a community that lives by the witness to faith recorded in the Bible. This witness involves the interpretation of certain historical events from the standpoint of faith. It has little in common with grandiose philosophies of history.

How does all this help us to understand the Old Testament? It is notoriously difficult to discover how the writers of ancient texts viewed the world, but I think that it is reasonable to assume that the writers of the Old Testament could not have had a conception of history as a totality or as a process. Presumably, in order to do this it would have been necessary for them to have access to historical records on such a scale that they would have been aware of at least extensive historical happenings in the part of the world where their life was set. Although we do not know how much the Old Testament writers knew about the history of Egypt, Assyria and Babylon in detail, it is reasonable to assume that they knew little about it where it did not directly affect Israel or Judah. This was a point made by Fohrer and Huber.

If the Old Testament writers had any conception of God as in control of events or as guaranteeing stability in the world, this was most likely to have been reached by analogy with human affairs. Kingship is likely to have been the area from which they gained the appropriate ideas, and it is

noteworthy that the Psalms that celebrate the kingship of God are explicit about his lordship over the nations. Just, then, as a king was supposed to control the fortunes of his people, and was supposed to uphold the law, so God controlled the fortunes of his people; and the more that Israel came to believe that the gods of the nations were but idols, the more it was possible to think that God's law and justice would one day be exercised over all the nations. But in order to believe this, it was not necessary for Israelites to have a notion of history as a totality under the control of God.

If we follow up Platzer's suggestion that what we take to be meaning in history is partly supplied by the convictions in terms of which we give unity and purpose to life, we find that in the Old Testament the idea of election is a principle around which meaning in Israel's history is organized. The very fact of a special relationship between Israel and God is a fundamental starting-point for the Old Testament interpretation and re-interpretation of Israel's history. Election is, following Fohrer and Vollmer, the ground for the prophetic attempts to recall the people to their vocation — to live as the people of God. It is the basis of the Deuteronomic history, in which Israel's past is narrated from the standpoint of Israel's success or failure to live according to God's law. It is implied in the narrative of Genesis–Joshua, for the inheritance of the land promised to Abraham's descendants is not promise of land for its own sake; it is a promise to enable the Israelites to live in the land as God's chosen people.

Can a doctrine of providence be supported from the Old Testament? If this question means did the Old Testament writers believe that God controlled the destiny of their nation, and was also in principle the lord of all nations, then I would say that the answer is yes. If the question means did the Old Testament writers believe in history as a process, with a goal towards which God was guiding it, then I would answer no.

The belief of the Old Testament writers that God controlled the destiny of the nation did not derive from a

philosophy of history in which every happening could and would be explained in terms of a divine purpose whose exact formula would be made known at the end of time. Rather, their understanding and interpretation of events was based upon the fact that they were the people of God with definite responsibility for the sort of life and society that they should have. As they looked back over their history, they saw it often as the story of the disobedience of the people of God. As they looked forward, they often saw the future as a threat to their continued existence as the people of God. As they pondered the present, they were often quite perplexed about what was happening, as can be seen from those Psalms that reflect upon the futility of uprightness and the prosperity of the wicked. In narratives such as those about the obstinacy of Pharaoh and the fate of Saul, they wrestled with the intractable problem of the relation between human freewill and the will of God. Filled with a deep awareness of injustices that human strength could not redress either in Israel or in neighbouring countries, they expressed their longing for God to exercise his universal rule of justice and peace. Only towards the end of the Old Testament period did they begin to comprehend series of events in terms of a divine plan, as in Daniel, at which point it became necessary to have a seer who was granted heavenly revelation so that the events could be understood. If we banish from Old Testament interpretation ideas of history that are the legacy of nineteenth–century philosophy of history and approach it along the lines indicated here, we shall not only do greater justice to the content of the Old Testament; we shall find that it has greater power to challenge us to faith in the triumph of God's rule of justice and peace, whatever the events of history that we face in the present and the future.

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A TALE OF TWO CRITICS: A HERMENEUTICAL STORY WITH A MORAL FOR THOSE BORN SINCE 1802

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Those of us who had the great fortune to know Peter Craigie will always remember his interest in showing what the Old Testament might mean for our present era. He was always willing to take on both the hermeneutical and theological tasks this involved and his treatments of the question of war left us all aware of how little we had appreciated of the problems up to that time. As a small tribute to his memory this study in method is an attempt to show how important it is for us to be aware of our own presuppositions when we approach biblical texts and how a look at our predecessors may remind us of what they could see but we cannot.

The first duty of all exegesis is to understand what a given text of the Bible is saying before one goes on to discover the possible relevance a text has for our present situation. It is normal to assume that what was probably remote from the mind of the writer must not be presented as the meaning of what he wrote. Sometimes infringements of this principle are easy to spot; one meeting of the Old Testament Congress was reduced to laughter by a well-meaning numerologist who worked out the significance of biblical texts on the basis of the numerical values of the letters used in them. Unfortunately the mote and beam problem still exists to haunt us, for despite our best intentions, we take ourselves into our interpretation to some extent even when we are very careful. Like the practice of virtue, the pursuit of objectivity will never be complete even as it dare not be abandoned. Therefore it is the contention of

this article that by comparing two samples of exegesis from different times we can throw into relief the extent to which our own concerns colour our interpretation of the Bible.

I have chosen two authors for comparison; C.F. Ammon (later von Ammon) an eighteenth century German who was well aware of the development of historical-critical methods and Paul Hanson a modern American. What I shall do is to compare what each author has to say about the prophets and then attempt to draw a moral from the story.[1]

To begin let us examine what these two men had in common. Both stand after the historical critical breaking of the doctrine of an infallible Scripture; both are aware that there is no single definite statement about God within Scripture and that therefore in biblical theology one has to make choices about what in Scripture is valuable and what is not. Ammon and Hanson, then, both make choices; where the divergences between them soon appear is the basis on which the choices are made.

Ammon is perfectly clear about the standard he is using; in the best eighteenth century tradition he asks what fits in with the dictates of reason. This at first appears strange, because for us reason is a much smaller and less agreed upon instrument than for our ancestors; in academic discourse it has shrunk down to something very close to logic. But in the Enlightenment in Germany *Vernunft,* "reason," conjured up not only Kant's philosophy but overtones of the writings of Leibnitz and Wolff. It was felt, perhaps too optimistically, that by the right use of reason the truth could be established beyond doubt not only in scientific and mathematical matters but in religious, moral and political

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[1] Christoph Friedrich Ammon, *Entwurf einer reinen Biblischen Theologie.* (2 vols.; Erlangen: Palm, 1792); *Entwurf einer Christologie des Alten Testaments.* (Erlangen: Palm, 1794). These were later combined into *Biblische Theologie.* (3 vols.; Erlangen: Palm, vols. 1, 2 1801, vol. 3 1802). All references are to the second edition.

Paul D. Hanson, *The Diversity of Scripture: A Theological Interpretation.* Overtures to Biblical Theology 11. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982).

affairs as well. Reason could separate universal truth, valid for all people of all times from more local opinions conditioned by the limitations of a particular historical period. Thus for Ammon, deciding what was *vernunftsmässig* was the process by which one filtered out eternal verities in the Old Testament from the narrow nationalistic confines of Israelite thinking.[2]

Hanson is rather less self-reflective about the standard he applies to the Old Testament, but on the whole he works from the view of the need to reform society continuously, in other words the view of most humane, decent, guilt ridden liberals. Hanson is in favor of social change for the better of all the erring human race and every wretched fellow. Concern for the relief of the poor and the oppressed, then, is what marks what is best in the Bible. Thus whereas Ammon criticizes the lack of a universal moral viewpoint in the Old Testament, Hanson criticizes Israelite failure to carry out reforms such as the abolition of slavery. Furthermore here we also have a standard of how the church is to act today; Hanson considers it is generally true that in periods of its greatest spiritual vitality and integrity the church has given special attention to the reform of society.[3] (Presumably by this standard the church of the New Testament era was a spiritually lack-luster and mendacious creature although Hanson does not say this specifically).

Having established the criteria for biblical theology, both men go on to discuss the forms biblical faith takes and how one distinguishes between the desirable and the undesirable.

Ammon, never an admirer of Schleiermacher, saw religion as coming basically from morality, by which he means personal morality.[4] Therefore biblical theology describes the process of the development of moral insights as the human race is gradually educated in moral matters.

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2 See his remarks on the "System des rationalem Glaubens" 1:66-9.

3 *Diversity*, 96.

4 *Biblische Theologie*, 1:67.

This education is not best described as a simple curve upward; on the contrary the Israelite theocracy established by Moses made the mistake of confusing moral with political regulations and the purity of moral insight was contaminated. The link between the two testaments, then, is that Jesus is the moral teacher who springs the narrow categories of the older nationalistic teaching of even the best of the prophets.

Hanson's notion of the form of biblical truth is rather different. He prefers to use the somewhat less well-defined image of a personal relationship between God and man. This means that instead of a hard and fast set of doctrines, what one finds in the Bible is a series of challenges to God's people. The way Hanson works this out is rather complicated, and what follows is only his argument in broad outline. Basically, he argues, there is in human society a tension between form and reform, form being things as they are, reform the concern to change the inequities that oppress various groups in society. While Hanson admits both ends of the spectrum are necessary, there is little doubt where his sympathies lie. In the ancient Near-East the great mythopoeic civilizations put their emphasis on form; the Israelites broke with this tradition at the time of the Exodus — a deliverance of the oppressed — but when the monarchy was established the kings brought form back in along with its myths and pomps and shows of display. Fortunately at the same time that kingship was established, prophecy emerged and it was prophecy that kept alive the tradition of reform. Later on this form-reform polarity broke down as realistic politicians such as the Maccabees came to terms with every day reality while the apocalypticists lost contact with the present world and looked for a new world to come. This led to the emergence of a second pair of polarities, namely revision/vision. The significance of Jesus for Hanson then is that Jesus represents the radical new embodiment of the king/prophet polarity; Jesus whose energy was devoted to freeing humans from the many forms of bondage that held them whether these were imposed by the self or by others. This king/prophet polarity embodied in Jesus must find its

embodiment in the church.[5]

Clearly both Ammon and Hanson tend to read their own historically-conditioned preoccupations back into the Bible. Curiously enough they both blame the establishment of a state as the source of much of the evil in the Old Testament[6] even as they both see the prophets as the reaction to this evil; the contrast is that whereas Ammon sees them as imperfect moral philosophers, Hanson describes them as early advocates of a moderate liberation theology. The reason why Ammon strikes us as being hopelessly outdated is that we are very unsure about a universal human morality on the personal level; we side with George Bernard Shaw and do not do unto others as we would have them do unto us for fear their tastes may differ. Hanson we find more attractive because for all our problems with personal morality, there is no doubt in our minds about human rights in a general sense even though this concept is so driven about by our emotions that it can be applied with equal seriousness to outrages in South American military dictatorships or the rate of overtime pay in Canada.

However, even the most high-minded biblical theology sooner or later has to come to terms with the evidence, so let us now turn to the task of seeing how far either of these men is convincing once the evidence is examined in detail.

The weakness of Ammon is very easy for us to notice because we do not share his presuppositions. For example, we are not convinced by his discussion of Jesus' saying that John the Baptist was greater than the prophets, yet the least in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he.[7] Ammon explains this as Jesus' comment on the failure of the Israelite prophets to attain to a religion that expressed a pure,

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[5] *Diversity*, 78.

[6] For Hanson this occurred at the time of the institution of the monarchy; Ammon still held the traditional view of Moses as the founder of the Israelite theocracy.

[7] *Biblische Theologie*, 2:5-10.

universal morality because of their nationalistic bias. John the Baptist did better than the prophets in this respect, but even the simplest member of the new Christian community will be greater because of his awareness of the universal demand of moral principles. This is really Kant dressed up for the Christmas pageant and while we sympathize we can scarcely agree. Whatever we think about the Kingdom in Jesus' preaching, it is generally agreed that it is an eschatological community and not a moral system.

In contrast to Ammon, the strength of Hanson's argument is that it fits in with what we are likely to believe as a matter of course and therefore it requires closer examination if for no other reason. Curiously Hanson has the same sort of goal as Ammon, namely the discrediting of a stultifying conservatism; the difference is that for Ammon it is Lutheran religious orthodoxy of a singularly black and savage disposition whereas for Hanson it is Orange County political conservatism that appeals to religion for support. Hanson wishes to show how a failure to keep the form-reform spectrum visible led to social abuses in the past and presumably in the present as well. The danger to scholarship of this socially constructive view is that it tends to provide a framework to history which the evidence does not support. For example, when Hanson suggests that the period of the Judges was a time of lasting breakthroughs in the area of human values, one can be forgiven perhaps for finding the evidence weak; the Song of Deborah, while a wonderful poem, does not seem to represent a watershed in the history of social relations and it must be admitted with regret that most of the happenings in Judges smack more of the ethics of cowboys than Kantians.[8]

When all else fails in debate about the prophets one can always turn to the evidence. Obviously any paragraph summary is going to miss many nuances and slough over

[8] *Diversity*, 23. It could be argued that in his desire to praise the dynamic role of Israelite religion, Hanson has been unfair to Egyptian religion which has texts instructing civil servants to be careful to defend the defenceless in the name of justice.

many complex problems, but let us call the roll and see just where Hebrew prophecy is to be located on the spectrum of ethical concern that runs from the integrity of the individual through to the justice of society. Amongst the non-canonical prophets we find undetermined numbers of ecstatics and cult prophets whose message, if any, did not seem to be very critical of anything. Gad and Nathan were civil servants at David's court charged with providing legitimacy to the royal family.[9] When Nathan does rebuke David in the Bathsheba affair it is not because of Uriah's poor working conditions or his place in the class structure, but simply because of the violation of what Ammon would call the rules of basic morality.[10] Elijah's rebuke of Ahaz was more a matter of personal morals than social justice on a wide scale[11] and both he and Elisha showed a disregard for the human rights of Baal worshippers that went far beyond seating arrangements in a bus.[12] Micaiah was one case out of 201 prophets and even his oracle, fascinating as it is, is not based on form and reform but simply the vanity of trying to force the hand of Israel's God by cultic manipulation.[13] Amongst the canonical prophets social awareness is not necessarily a common note. Obadiah, Nahum, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi have to be written off from the start. Joel is hard to classify, Hosea was more interested in religious apostasy than social justice; even Isaiah promised deliverance to Ahaz for no apparent social reason[14] and Ezekiel is either narrowly religious or else concerned about the importance of personal behaviour. The book of Ezekiel does contain a description of the new Jerusalem, but its physical impossibility at the present site of Jerusalem shows that this new city was seen as a work of God's grace, not a blue print

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9 1 Sam 7:4-17; 2 Sam 24:18.

10 2 Sam 12:1-15.

11 1 Kgs 21:20.

12 1 Kgs 18:40; 2 Kgs 9.

13 1 Kgs 22.

14 Isa 7:4-11.

for Israel to build. On a statistical basis Ammon is far more acute in his assessment of the prophets than Hanson. The only figures that support the social justice interpretation of the prophets are Amos, Micah, parts of Hosea Jeremiah and Isaiah, Zephaniah, and Habbakuk. The fact of the matter would appear to be that whereas we tend to see social concerns expressing themselves in religion and elsewhere, the Old Testament saw religious concerns expressing themselves in politics and elsewhere. It is only because we tend to be politically concerned, rightly so, that we also tend to be more sympathetic to Hanson's presentation, wrongly so.

What then are the lessons to be derived from this comparison of two scholars from different eras? I would suggest that there are two, one relating to the study of the Old Testament and the other relating to the sort of wider concern that ideally a study of the Old Testament leads us to.

In studying the Old Testament we must realize that thanks to our Greek heritage we find it natural to ask reflective questions about the state and the exact limits of personal duties that would be foreign to the Old Testament. Both the Crito and the Republic present abstract discussions that one should not read into the Old Testament even though it may contain the sort of problems that gave rise to Greek philosophy. Jonathan may have had to balance his duty to Saul as head of state against his loyalty to David his friend but his inner turmoil never led to a rational examination preserved for posterity.

The effect of this Greek rational reflection has been magnified by our Renaissance heritage of the sense of the power of humanity to change things for the better in both natural and political realms. This has meant that long-established models of the state have been challenged for four hundred years now to the point where in the twentieth century there is a no agreement about what constitutes a nation; dynastic allegiance is rejected as irrational despite its

earlier successes,[15] but what can we put in its place; should linguistic considerations be tantamount[16] — or geographical[17] or even ideological?[18] These were not problems that worried ancient Israel; the basis of the Israelite state in fact changed throughout Israel's history from ethnic-religious to dynastic back to ethnic religious with a geographical component, but none of this appears to have engendered the self-reflection still less the nervousness of modern Europe since the seventeenth century. The one clash of political viewpoints about which we are informed in the Old Testament occurred during the rise of the monarchy; but this only serves to emphasize the difference from our own conceptions; for at the time of Samuel what was at stake was whether the kingship was God's will or not; that one side argued the king would act in an autocratic fashion was presented not primarily as an argument against the kingship but rather God's punishment that would follow if it were established.

Furthermore another contrast between the Old Testament and ourselves is that we consider it axiomatic that social structures can of themselves produce wicked results independently of the personal virtues of those within the system so that it is society that should be changed for the better, more or less as an on-going process. Our aims in this undertaking are not modest; it is obligatory amongst the morally concerned that one should work for a world in which sickness, hunger and war are abolished. We forget that the aim of abolishing war as such cannot be traced back before the sixteenth century and when the Old Testament

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15 The Austo-Hungarian empire managed to unite a large part of central Europe on the principle of dynastic loyalty.

16 E.g. the basis for the new nations in Europe after 1918 or the debate over Quebec within Canada.

17 E.g. the Zionist insistence on Palestine as the only possible site for a Jewish state that ruled out even the possibility of accepting the offer of land in Uganda.

18 Thus the divisions of countries such as Korea and Germany on ideological lines.

talks about the era of peace that is to come, it is primarily for Israel's benefit and was to be brought about by God's action, not human endeavour.

Given that we live in a rather different intellectual environment from the Old Testament, we should not only follow Herder's advice on entering into the Hebrew mind enthusiastically by reciting Hebrew poetry at sunrise, we should also discipline ourselves not to seek direct timeless truths in the Old Testament. For example, it is possible to detect the last lingering shadow of Bibliolatry in finding support for liberation theology in the Exodus. This is not to say that imagery from the Bible is incapable of expansion into our own concerns, but we should keep clear the gap between original meaning and modern application. Just as Sophocles' Oedipus is not about the Oedipus complex, so the Exodus is not about the working class in South America. By the same token we should distinguish between applying modern philosophical or sociological insights in order to understand aspects of the Old Testament better and assuming that the Old Testament writers had these insights in mind when they wrote.

But there is a second major lesson to be learned from the comparison of Ammon and Hanson. In this case it concerns the correctness of our own perceptions. Suppose it is agreed that in fact Ammon may have caught something of the spirit of Old Testament morality that modern interpreters miss because of their preconceptions, is this more than an interesting scholarly observation or might it lead us to reflection on our own times? Now admittedly making general statements about the temper of our times is rather like swatting mosquitoes in Winnipeg — while you cannot help getting something, there is much more you miss — but it could be argued that our bias is that while in social matters objective rules are easily discernable, in personal matters much comes down to how you feel about the situation in question. In fact, being true to yourself may be more important than moral statements that are external to your own self-realization. For better or worse, this is not how either

the Old Testament or Ammon saw matters. In the Old Testament certain actions were wrong because they were prohibited by God; mitigating circumstances were few and far between and derived from legal common sense rather than any care for human personality, a concept utterly foreign to the Bible in any case. Is it conceivable that, by losing sight of the uncompromising demands of personal integrity as we explore the possibilities of "personal growth" theology, we have fallen into a new type of cheap grace?

In navigation the failure to take into account one of the landmarks in the process of triangulation can lead to serious errors in direction; in the same way in exegesis the failure to pay attention to our predecessors can lead to wrong turns in our interpretation of the texts we study, both in understanding the text itself, exegesis proper, and in the application of what we feel the text has still to say to us, that is biblical theology. Because Hanson echoes what most of us find easy to believe anyway his work is attractive; a look at Ammon can jolt us out of our mistakes and bring us face to face with the strangeness of the Old Testament, which we must not be too quick to domesticate for our own ends.

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THE TWO EARLIEST KNOWN REPRESENTATIONS OF YAHWEH*

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In the recent Festschrift for Professor Noel Freedman, W.G. Dever notes that there is very little archaeological evidence for the Israelite cult, with the exception, for example, of "two tenth-century cult stands from Taanach, with fantastic representations of what appears to be Asherah as the 'Lion Lady.'"[1] He adds that these stands "abound in evidence for Israelite syncretistic iconography" and that they "deserve much more attention."[2] The present study is a brief summary of some of the more important conclusions reached while studying the more interesting of these two stands,[3] the

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* Earlier versions of this paper have been presented at the annual meetings of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, Hamilton, Ontario (May 1987), and of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Boston (December 1987).

1 W. G. Dever, "Material Remains and the Cult in Ancient Israel: An Essay in Archeological Systematics," *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth* (ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983) 573.

2 *Ibid.*, 584 n. 7.

3 The present writer had occasion to study this stand in detail in his Yale doctoral dissertation entitled, "Sun Worship in the Biblical World," still in progress. (The writer wishes to acknowledge the generosity of the American Schools of Oriental Research for providing a fellowship at the Albright Institute in Jerusalem in 1986, at which time research was conducted on this cult stand. He would like also to thank Professors W. Dever, D.N. Freedman, S. Gitin, J.S. Holladay and M. Taylor for their helpful comments. He is especially indebted, however, to Mrs. Ruth Hestrin whose insights and interpretation, though at significant points

one found by Paul Lapp during the 1968 excavations at Tell Taanach.[4]

First, a description of the stand is in order.[5] It is made of clay and is slightly more than half a meter in height. This tall rectangular stand is hollow and divided into four separate tiers, each of which depicts a cultic scene with crudely fashioned figures: animals, deities and architectural features clearly characteristic of a temple (e.g. on the top tier free–standing columns and what appear to be altars). Unlike the front and sides, the back of the stand bears no images, but is smooth and contains two roughly square–shaped holes which remind one of fenestration typical in other cult stands.

At the front and centre in the bottom tier (hereafter called tier four) is a nude female figurine with arms outstretched, each extending to the ears of lions which stand on either side of her and the sides of whose bodies are portrayed on the sides of the stand. Lions identical to those found on this fourth or bottom tier (and in a similar flanking position) are

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different from that finally adopted in this study, have nonetheless proved invaluable.)

4 For the archaeological context in which the stand was eventually found, see Paul W. Lapp, "The 1963 Excavations at Ta'annek," *BASOR* 173 (1964) 26-32, 35-39; *idem*, "Taanach By the Waters of Megiddo," *BA* 30 (1967) 17-27; *idem*, "The 1968 Excavations at Tell Ta'annek," *BASOR* 195 (1969) 42-44. The presence at or near the shrine area of an olive press, figurine mould and a large cache of vessels is suggestive that the shrine was a large–scale cultic centre. (On the role of the olive press and its implications for the understanding of the size and capability of the shrine, see further Lawrence E. Stager and Samuel R. Wolff, "Production and Commerce in Temple Courtyards," *BASOR* 243 [1981] 98.)

5 For photographs of the stand, see, for example, Lapp, "1968 Excavations," 43; A. E. Glock, "Taanach," *IDBSup* (1976) 856; *idem*, "Taanach," *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land IV* (1978) 1142; Cornelius de Geus, "The Profile of an Israelite City," *BA* 49 (1986) 224; Lamoine F. DeVries, "Cult Stands," *BAR* 13/4 (July-August 1987) 32; Nancy L. Lapp, "Taanach," *Harper's Bible Dictionary* (1985) 1012. (The photo in this last source is backwards.)

found on the second tier from the top and between these lions and at centre is a pair of ibex with legs extending into a "tree of life." No central figure analogous to the nude female in tier four or the sacred tree in tier two is found on the third tier, but, like these other tiers, there is on either side of this central (vacant) section a pair of animals, this time winged sphinxes / cherubim, again with body sides portrayed on the sides of the tier. On the top or first tier, a pair of voluted columns stands where the flanking animals were found on each of the three tiers below. At the centre of this tier is the side–view of a loping quadruped above which is a winged sun disk. In place of the sides of the animals found in flanking position on the other tiers, there is on each of the two sides of this top tier a side–view of a winged griffin. Finally, at the very top of this stand and immediately above tier one is a shallow square–shaped basin with rims decorated on the outside with button–like emblems.

The interpretation of the iconography advocated in the present study is as follows. First, Y. Yadin's suggestion[6] that the tiers represent temple scenes is almost certainly correct; his view can be supported from the box– or building–like shape of each tier, and, more importantly, from the free–standing pillars flanking the quadruped–and–sun on the top tier (i.e. tier one). Moreover, the pillars on the top tier (clearly an architectural feature) set a clear precedent for understanding the lions / cherubim in the same flanking position in the tiers below as architectural features, an interpretation clearly supportable from the fact that both free–standing pillars and large–animal orthostats are characteristic of Syro–Palestinian temple architecture.[7] The pillars, lions and cherubim on these tiers thus "house" the deities represented by the winged sun above quadruped (tier

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[6] Cited in Lapp, "1968 Excavations ," 44.

[7] See further *ibid.* For a few examples, see *ANEP*, figs. 644, 646-47 and Y. Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor I* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958) pls. 29-30, 181.

one), the sacred tree (tier two) and the nude female (tier four).[8]

Second, as noted already, there is general agreement that the same deity, Asherah, is represented in tiers two and four; the figures of the sacred tree with ibex in tier two and the nude female in tier four are two common ways of representing Asherah.[9] Moreover, as Dever has noted, Asherah is referred to as the "lion–lady,"[10] and this corresponds extremely well with the lions chosen to flank the deity on these two tiers. Moreover, to make it clear to the observer that the same deity is represented on tiers two and four, albeit in two different ways, the lion pairs flanking the deity on each of these tiers are identical. Thus, though the sacred tree and nude female might independently represent different deities (in the case of the nude female, Astarte, for example), the only deity likely to be represented as *both* nude female and sacred tree, in each case flanked by identical pairs of lions, is Asherah.

To this point in time the identity of the deities represented on tiers one and three has proved problematic. The following observations, based on the structure of the stand itself, welcome the view that the deity represented on these two tiers is in fact Yahweh. Tiers three and one are examined in turn.

In tier three there is an exception to a clear pattern noted in all other tiers. Unlike the other tiers, it contains no representation of a deity between the architectural features

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[8] The problem of the absence of a deity in tier three will be addressed later in this study.

[9] On Asherah, see further, Walter A. Maier III, *'Asherah: Extrabiblical Evidence* (HSM 37; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986); and John Day, "Asherah in the Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitic Literature," *JBL* 105 (1986) 385-408, esp. 403-6.

[10] W. Dever, "Asherah, Consort of Yahweh? New Evidence from Kuntillet 'Ajrûd," *BASOR* 255 (1984) 33 n. 24.

appropriate for that deity (as was seen, for example, in the case of Asherah between the lion orthostats on tiers two and four). In tier three, then, the deity one expects to find between the two cherubim is notably absent. Moreover, as a close examination of the stand reveals, the central deity is not just missing, but in fact was never portrayed. In view of the pattern just observed, the following question may be asked: "What deity occurring in a Yahwistic context might be represented by an 'invisible' deity posed between two cherubim?" A clear answer, of course, is immediately apparent: *YHWH ṣĕbā'ôt yōšēb hakkĕrûbîm*, "Yahweh of Hosts who dwells (between) the cherubim."[11] In view of the Yahwistic context of the stand and its structure, then, tier three can hardly be other than an iconographic representation of Yahweh of Hosts, the first and only case known in the archaeological record.

What about tier one? No interpretation can be offered without determining first the identity of the quadruped below the winged sun disk, and here a debate arises about whether the animal is a calf or an equid.[12] For example, according to the leading authority on this stand at the Israel Museum, R. Hestrin, the quadruped on the top tier is a calf which represents Baal–Hadad.[13] However, in the opinion of two

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11 In light of the present interpretation, the words of T. Mettinger regarding the aniconic God in ancient Israel are *apropos*: "The official cult was early [i.e. early monarchic, the time of the Taanach cult stand] aniconic: over the cherub throne and ark, the god of Israel was enthroned in unseen majesty. The place usually occupied by the deity is empty" (T. Mettinger, "The Veto on Images and the Aniconic God in Ancient Israel," *Religious Symbols and their Functions* [ed. H. Biezas; Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1979] 27).

12 The opinion of Lapp ("1968 Excavations," 44) and Hestrin (for which see the next footnote), for example, is that it is a calf; the view of Glock ("Taanach," 1147) is that the animal is an equid.

13 Ruth Hestrin, "Canaanite Cult Stand," *Treasures of the Holy Land: Ancient Art from the Israel Museum* (ed. John P. O'Neill; New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986) 161-63. Mrs. Hestrin has published an article on this stand which has just recently appeared in Orientalia

experts in animal biology whom the present writer consulted (the only such experts to have examined the quadruped, in so far as the writer is aware), C.S. Churcher and P.W. Physick–Sheard,[14] the animal, though crudely fashioned, may be reasonably judged to be an equine and not a

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Lovaniensia Periodica. Although the article is not yet accessible to the present writer, he has nonetheless discussed at some length with Mrs. Hestrin the interpretation she offers in the article.

[14] The former is Professor of Zoology at the University of Toronto and of Vertebrate Paleontology at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, and is thoroughly acquainted with depictions of large mammals in Ancient Near Eastern art, and the latter is Professor in the Department of Clinical Studies at the Ontario Veterinary College; University of Guelph, and a specialist in large mammals such as cows and horses. Both were given a 4X6 inch photograph (black & white) of the front panel of the top tier, as well as a photo of the whole stand, both kindly provided by the Israel museum, courtesy of Excavations of the American Schools of Oriental Research and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri. These scholars made similar judgments independently of one other.

bovine.[15] A widespread case of mistaken identity, then, appears to have contributed to the overlooking of a striking parallel between the top tier of this cult stand and 2 Kgs 23:11 which follows:[16]

wayyašbēt 'et hassûsîm 'ăšer nātĕnû malkê yĕhûdâ laššemeš mibbō' bêt YHWH 'el liškat nĕtan melek hassārîs 'ăšer bapparwārîm wĕ'et markĕbôt haššemeš śārap bā'ēš
And he [Josiah] removed the horses that the kings of Judah had

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15 Note, for example, the prominent hooves, and tail not roped as on a calf, but hairy to the croup as on a horse. The following are important excerpts from a letter written to the present writer by Professor Physick–Sheard on 19 November 1986:

> The animal on the stand has a tail whose fullness from the base would suggest a member of the equidae ... [Regarding the ears,] their relatively erect position would be most compatible with an equine rather than a bovine. Ears on all ungulates are positioned laterally ... The animal appears to have rather a long muzzle and a strong angle to the jaw, features which are more prominent features of equidae than bovidae. The flat upper part of the head from forehead to muzzle also implies an equid ... In summary ... the impression given on general examination is that of a calf. However, critical evaluation of several individual features and some interpretation leads me to suggest that this is an equine figure, though somewhat crude.

(Regarding the opinion of Mrs. Hestrin [personal communication] that the bony protrusion of the head above the eyes is typical in depictions of calves in Ancient Near Eastern art, this "bony protrusion" appears to be simply the breadth of the forehead shown in an attempt to portray more than a simple side view of the head as is indicated by the depiction of both ears. In any case, the shape of the head led Professor Physick–Sheard to a judgment opposite to that of Mrs. Hestrin.)

16 Even if the quadruped were a calf, an association with Yahweh would by no means be ruled out, a point argued in a draft of this paper read at the Albright Institute and also expressed by D.N. Freedman in a letter written to the present writer on 26 January 1988: "Even if the animal in question were a bull, that would hardly weaken the case for identification with Yahweh, whose animal symbols, especially in the northern kingdom, were precisely "calves," i.e. immature bulls (hence the absence of horns)." (Professor Freedman adds, "I think you are right that only Asherah is represented in this stand, and the male deity is Yahweh.")

> dedicated to the sun, at the entrance to the house of the Lord, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was in the precincts; and he burned the chariots of the sun with fire. (RSV)

The parallels between this passage and tier one of the Taanach cult stand under study are in fact several: 1) equid, 2) sun, 3) temple area in general, and 4)[17] entrance to the temple area in particular.[18]

There are other reasons for supposing that tier one is a cultic scene representing Yahweh. First, in light of the Yahwistic context in which the stand was found, it is logical

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17 A fifth correspondence between the top tier and 2 Kgs 23:11 lies in the possible correspondence between the mention of chariots of the sun and the griffins (on the sides of the top tier) which, according to E.R. Goodenough (*Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* [13 vols. Bollingen Series 37; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953-1968) 8.145), were understood to draw the chariot for the sun deity. The griffin, however, had a wide variety of mythical connections in ancient times and it would therefore be unwise to assume too quickly that this was his role in the case of the Taanach cult stand. (For a balanced overview of the role of the griffin, see W. Barta, "Der Greif als bildhafter Ausdruck einer altägyptischen Religionsvorstellung," *JEOL* 23 [1973-1974] 335-57; Anna Maria Bisi, *Il grifone: Storia di un motivo iconografico nell'antico oriente mediterraneo* [Studi semitici 13; Rome: Centro di studi semitici, 1965]; J. Börker, "Greif," *Reallexicon der Assyrologie* 3 [1957-1971] 633-39; Ingeborg Flagge, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des Greifen* [Sankt Augustin: Hans Richarz, 1975]; Eva Eggebrecht, "Greif," *Lexicon der Ägyptologie* 2 [1977] 895-96.) Some connection between the griffin and the solar deity is nonetheless clear from these sources and, in the writer's judgment, probably applicable to the griffin on the cult stand. (Cf. the winged sun disk on tier one and, e.g., these words of Eggebrecht ["Greif," 895]: "hinzu kommt die Interpretation des G[reif] als 'Vollstrecker des Willens des Sonnengottes,' ja als Sonnensymbol selbst.")

18 The correspondences welcome the judgment that the tradition reflected in 2 Kgs 23:11 was already at the time of Josiah some three centuries old. (The view that pagan practices such as that reflected in 2 Kgs 23:11 were imposed upon Judah as an expression of its vassalage to Assyria is, of course, now outdated. See, for example, John McKay, *Religion in Judah under the Assyrians* [SBT 2/26; London: SCM, 1973].)

to suppose that there would be in the top (and thus, presumably, the most important) tier a cultic scene representing Yahweh. Second, this interpretation is suggested by the structure of the stand; since the same deity (Asherah) is represented on alternate tiers two and four, one naturally expects the pattern of alternation to continue through the representation of the same deity (in this case Yahweh) on the other pair of alternate tiers, one and three.[19] Third, as is well known, a similar association between Yahweh and Asherah is at the very least suggested by the inscriptions on two pithoi from Kuntillet ʿAjrûd (*ca.* 800 B.C.), blessing formulae clearly associating *yhwh*, "Yahweh," and *ʾšrth* (probably to be rendered "his Asherah"),[20] and by line 3 of the el–Qôm tomb Inscription III, another blessing formula most likely mentioning *yhwh* and *ʾšrth*.[21] Fourth, the earliest written testimony to the nature of Yahwism in the area of Taanach, Judges 5, shows evidence of an intense struggle with mythological notions associated with Canaanite deities and in fact describes Yahwism in astral terms (cf. the winged sun disk in tier

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19 Moreover, just as Asherah was portrayed in two different ways on the alternate tiers two and four, so, too, Yahweh is depicted in two different ways on the alternate tiers one and three.

20 The bibliography on these inscriptions and the controversy they have generated are immense. On the reading of the *ʾšrth* at Kuntillet ʿAjrud as "his [i.e. Yahweh's] Asherah," see most recently D.N. Freedman, "Yahweh of Samaria and his Asherah," *BA* 50 (1987) 241-49. For a detailed discussion including most of the relevant bibliography, see further Dever, "Asherah, Consort of Yahweh?" 21-37.

21 See most conveniently *ibid.*, 21-22, 30-32. On the reading *lyhwh* and *lʾšrth* in the el–Qôm inscription, see A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions de Khirbet el–Qôm et l'ashérah de YHWH," *RB* 84 (1977) 597-608; J. Naveh, "Graffiti and Dedications," *BASOR* 235 (1979) 27-30.

one).[22] Finally, in view of the presence of both Yahweh and Asherah on the other tiers of this stand (and, as noted, elsewhere as well), not to have Yahweh portrayed on the top tier would be the old case of "two is company, and three is a crowd."

To conclude, the cult stand discovered by gifted young archaeologist P. Lapp in 1968 apparently bears witness to yet another cult of Yahweh and Asherah, this time at a large-scale cultic centre which perhaps functioned under (at least indirect) royal administrative sanction during the reign of Solomon.[23] If the hypothesis offered by the present writer is true, then tiers one and three of this cult stand contain the two earliest known representations of Yahweh.[24]

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22 Judges 5: 20. (Note also the mention of "new gods" in v. 8 and the reference to the sun in v 31 which, though probably later than the poem itself, was clearly deemed appropriate.) The presence of Canaanite imagery in the Song of Deborah has been explored by three Canadians, including P.C. Craigie and the present writer. See P.C. Craigie, "Deborah and Anat: A Study of Poetic Imagery (Judges 5)," *ZAW* 90 (1978) 374-81; S.G. Dempster, "Mythology and History in the Song of Deborah," *WTJ* 41 (1978) 33-53; and J. Glen Taylor, "The Song of Deborah and Two Canaanite Goddesses," *JSOT* 23 (1982) 99-108.

23 Cf. 1 Kgs 4:12 in context. Since the stand was found underneath an ash layer dating to the campaign of Shishak, it is also possible (but less likely) that this cult stand dates to early in the reign of Jeroboam I.

24 For some of the more important implications of the association between the sun and Yahweh in this stand and elsewhere (e.g. Psalm 80, probably early and northern and no less suggestive that Yahweh of Hosts was solar [probably by virtue of the fact that as chief of the Heavenly Hosts, he was equated with the chief Heavenly Host itself, namely, the sun, in which case it is specifically the winged sun disk on tier one which represents Yahweh]), see the writer's doctoral dissertation, forthcoming.

THE LIGHT AND THE DARK

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"The light and the dark" is an apt characterization of the contrast between David and Saul in 1 Samuel 16. The dark is Saul — a failure as king in an office he did not seek, and in a situation where no one could have succeeded. The light is David, the handsome youth from the field whose enormous gifts propelled him to success in the same unsought kingship. He is described as ruddy, red to Saul's black, sanguine rather than melancholy, cheerful and lyrical rather than depressed and brooding.[2]

As a story, the chapter clearly falls into two parts, one dealing with Samuel's selection and anointing of David to succeed Saul as king (16A), and one dealing with his entry into Saul's court as a musician whose playing could soothe the reigning king's troubled moods (16B). But most recent commentators do not seek to interpret these two sections with reference to each other. The reason arises out of a certain tension between the two halves. 16A presents David as the youngest of eight sons, "the little one" (*haqqāṭān*) his father calls him (v.11), whose work is to tend the sheep. But, in five separate phrases (v.18), 16B attributes remarkable skill and valour to him, implying a military reputation

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[1] I am glad to offer this study in memory of Peter Craigie, and especially as a tribute to his warm and winsome religious faith.

[2] The phrase itself comes from C.P. Snow's *The Light and the Dark*, a story about an Oxbridge don who was subject to bouts of psychotic darkness, alternating with the light of more rational and productive weeks and months.

not easy to square with the previous description of him as a youthful shepherd.[3]

Beside this, both halves of the chapter are in tension with chap 17 over how David came to Saul's attention. In chap 16, David is a handsome and skilled musician, described as a "stalwart fellow and a warrior" (18), But in chap 17, he is quite unknown to Saul, who (after Goliath's death) must ask his general, "Whose son is that boy, Abner?" (17:55). Similarly, 16A introduces David's family, giving his father's name and village, and the names of his three older brothers. The same information is given in 17:12–14a, quite as if David and his family were being introduced for the first time. These words can hardly have been written by someone who had just composed 16A.

These and similar inconcinnities have long led scholars to suppose that chaps. 16–18 are composite in origin, and to postulate two or perhaps three sources to account for the diversity in the present narrative.[4] It is usually said that 16B is an old and reliable story which introduced the history of David's rise to authority, while 16A is a later addition made by a prophetic redactor.[5] So McCarter: " ... in the primary narrative to which the rest was added, [David] makes his first appearance here [16B]."[6] As a result, little attention has been given to the effect of juxtaposing the materials 16A and 16B, and especially to their relationship with one another.

This paper essays an interpretation of 1 Samuel 16 as a whole. I do not enter the discussion of whether its two segments were composed by the same person or at the same

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[3] The David of 16B "is neither the David of the previous passage, nor the David of chapter 17" (P.R. Ackroyd, *The First Book of Samuel* [Cambridge: UP, 1971] 135).

[4] See a sprightly and authoritative review of these issues in R. North, "David's Rise: Sacral, Military, or Psychiatric?" *Bib* 63 (1982) 524-44.

[5] See, for example, Niels Peter Lemche, "David's Rise," *JSOT* 10 (1978) 2-4.

[6] P. Kyle McCarter, *1 Samuel* (AB 8; Garden City: Doubleday, 1980) 282.

time, although some of the arguments for diversity are compelling. What seems to me more important is to describe the effect of placing these two blocks of material side by side, and I shall argue that there are textual signals which justify the attempt to read them together. By "interpretation," I mean an explanation of the text which includes an unfolding of its meaning to the present community which esteems it, that is to say, the interpreter and the church.

Linkage Between the Two Halves

I begin, then, with the indications within the text that suggest that they are in fact related to one another.

1. There is, first, the observation that both sections have the same rhetorical feature of being framed by an inclusio. For 16A the words are *qeren haššemen* "horn of oil" and *māšaḥ* "anoint," found in both vv 1 and 13. These words are thematically important to A, and direct attention specifically to Samuel's act of anointing David king.

Similarly, 16B is framed by an inclusio, the words *sārâ rûaḥ min* "the spirit departed from" (Saul), which are the first words of v 14 and the last of v 23. The full clauses in which they occur are: *wĕrûaḥ YHWH sārâ mēʿim šāʾûl* "the spirit of YHWH had departed from Saul" (v 14),[7] and *wĕsārâ mēʿalāyw rûaḥ hārāʿâ* "the evil spirit would depart from upon him" (v.23).[8] The formal similarity of these two clauses is unmistakable,[9] although the fact that the sense of

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7 The form of the clause is disjunctive, functioning to open the pericope.

8 The verb is perfect + waw, and is the last of four such frequentative verbs describing what would always happen when the dark spirit from God came upon Saul.

9 An alternative explanation to the "initial disjunctive" of v 14 (see note 7 above) is that the writer chose the disjunctive clause so as to be able to use the perfect form *sārâ* to signal the inclusio more pointedly; in

the two clauses is different must be taken seriously. That is, v 14 refers to Saul's loss of the kingship, while v 23 speaks of relief from the afflicting spirit which subsequently came upon him. This duality corresponds to the content of the section, since the "evil spirit" seems to come as a result of Saul's loss of the kingship, but at the same time, relief from that spirit is possible through David's presence in the court. I return to this duality later.

2. A second feature linking these two segments is the word *rā'îtî* "I have seen" followed by the word *ben* "son" in vv 1 and 18. Both verbs have David as their object: in v.1 YHWH says "I have looked me out a king,"[10] while in v.18 one of Saul's aides says "I have noticed a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite ..." Both verses have to do with finding David for a particular purpose, and the cross-reference between them is heightened by Saul's use of *rā'â* in v 17, *rĕ'û-nā' lî 'îš* "Look me out a man who ..."

3. A third feature is that each half's list of qualities describing David seems to be related to the other. The first list (v 12) describes David when he arrived from the field at Samuel's request, soon to be anointed king: "He was ruddy-cheeked, bright-eyed, and handsome."[11] This is obviously a description of David's physical comeliness. The other list (v 18) contains six features enumerated by the aide who recommends David for the king's dark emotional states. He is "skilled in music; he is a stalwart fellow and a warrior, sensible in speech, and handsome in appearance, and the Lord is with him." This list does not neglect David's good looks, but adds qualities of valour and intelligence as well; in addition, it mentions YHWH's presence with David.

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normal or narrative word order, v 14 would have read **wattasar rûaḥ YHWH* ...

10 This locution is Smith's, ICC 144, expressing the idiomatic use of *rā'â l-* to mean "select."

11 *Tanakh* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1985); hereafter "JPS."

The latter feature, which becomes a *Leitmotif* for David,[12] is distinctly set apart in the Hebrew by the masoretic accentuation;[13] the *atnach* stands on the third–last word of the verse, the twentieth of twenty–two words. The entire "second half" of the verse comprises two Hebrew words: *wĕYHWH ʿimmô* "And–YHWH [is] with–him." The accentuation thus lays particular stress on the divine presence.

But the real point in mentioning these lists is that YHWH's presence with David stands only in the second half of the chapter, where it must be (somewhat strangely) announced by one of Saul's aides; why would it not stand in 16A, where David first appears and is identified as suitable to be king? The narrative does not speak of the divine presence (16B), until it has reported the coming of the spirit of God upon David (16B), and so the story itself signals that its two halves need to be read together.

4. A fourth feature is the fact that in both A and B the personal name "David" is delayed well beyond the point where it would most naturally be introduced into the narrative. In A it does not occur until after Samuel has anointed David, in the clause "the spirit of YHWH gripped David from that day on" (v 13). One would certainly have expected the name of the future king to be mentioned as the object of the verb "anoint" (v 13, where LXX minus L have it), but the personal pronoun is used instead; and it could easily have come already in v 11 when Jesse, in response to Samuel's enquiry, mentions his youngest son (where the story as told by Josephus has it).

This delay is made more pointed by two other contrasts. One is with the also–rans, David's oldest brothers, three of whom are introduced by name when they appear before Samuel (vv 6–9) only to be declared unchosen by YHWH.

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12 16:18, 17:37, 18:12, 14, 28, 2 Sam 5:10.

13 Most verses in the Hebrew Bible are broken into two parts by the major disjunctive accent *atnach*, which usually stands somewhere in the centre.

Why should not David's name be similarly mentioned as soon as the story refers to him?

The other contrast is with David's entry into the story of Goliath. After recounting the military situation in which the Israelites and the Philistines confronted each other and the ensuing terror and dismay of the Israelites, the story introduces David abruptly with a disjunctive clause (17:12) in which the personal name is the first word: *wĕdāwid ben 'îš ... yiśay* "Now David was the son of a man ... Jesse." Chapter 17 gives the son's name even before identifying his family and village, and prior to the names of his three older brothers (who are named as members of Saul's army). Why should 16A wish to withhold the name until so late in the story?

The same thing happens in 16B. One might have expected David to be named in v 18 when Saul's aide describes the skills of Jesse's son which suit him to Saul's needs. The absence of the name in that verse is made more noticeable in that Saul goes on to ask for David by name (v 19), even though no one has told it to him. In a harmonistic reading of the story, of course, one would say that the aide had gone on to tell Saul the name of the gifted man, so that Saul was able to ask for him by name; is Saul allowed to know more than the story knows? But under the assumption that the story gives us the information we need to understand it, this is a questionable technique, and we are left to reflect on the reason that the story has retarded this essential bit of information.[14]

5. This leads to a fifth linkage, based on the specific position of the personal name. In each of its first appearances it is the object of a verb: in v 13 the spirit of YHWH "seizes" (*ṣālaḥ*) David, and in v 19 Saul asks Jesse to "send" (*šālaḥ*) David to him. The former is an important verb in the larger narrative, because the same thing happened

14 Both the name and the clause "who is with the flock" have often been regarded as a harmonizing gloss (e.g. Smith, ICC); if so, it is reasonable to describe its effect.

to Saul after he had been privately anointed by Samuel and had gone his way (10:6, 10); it is important to the prophetic view of the kingship that the king be a man of the spirit. The latter is an important verb in the present chapter, occurring seven times,[15] always somehow in connection with David.

The two verbs are very similar in sound, being distinguished only as the two sibilants *ṣ* and *š* are distinguished. The initial consonants — *ṣade* and *shin* — also had a certain visual similarity, especially in manuscripts whose scribe wrote the tail of the medial *ṣade* straight rather than curved,[16] enhancing the visual harmony already apparent in the identity of the last two consonants in each verb. These two verbs, therefore, come to the interpreter's attention by (a) their use with David's name in its first (and delayed) appearance in each pericope, and (b) their similarity in sound and appearance. Combined with the other links between the two halves of the chapter, they suggest an axis on which the entire story turns and by which it may be understood.

Reading the Chapter as a whole

We may now ask, How does the interrelationship between the two halves contribute to the meaning of chap 16 as a whole? A starting point for answering this question will be to note how the two halves interact in various ways.

1. For one thing, there is an immediate contrast between David, the man whom the spirit of YHWH "seizes" (v 13), and Saul, from whom the spirit of YHWH has departed (v 14); only four Hebrew words separate these two sentences.

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15 Vv 1, 11, 12, 19, 19, 20, 22.

16 See, for example, Frank Moore Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (G. Ernest Wright, ed.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1976) 133-202, especially p. 137 example #4 (a late third-century B.C. hand) and the discussion of these letters on p. 152.

2. And then there is the enormous irony that Saul should deliberately invite into his court the man who has already been anointed by Samuel as his replacement and successor. As a narrative event, the coincidence is breath-taking, and it is heightened by the use in both segments of the vocabulary of shepherding for David.

For example, when Jesse tells Samuel that there remains still the youngest son (v 11), he adds *wehinnê rô'eh baṣṣō'n* "he is shepherding the flock." The deictic particle *wehinnê* draws sharp attention to these words, which have a second level of meaning pointing to the kingship. The shepherd/flock image is a kind of *Leitmotif* for David from this point on,[17] culminating in 2 Sam 5:2 *'attâ tir'eh 'ammî* "you shall shepherd my people," and 2 Sam 7:8 "I took you from the pasture, from following the flock (*haṣṣō'n*), to be ruler of My people Israel." The word *ṣō'n* "flock" is frequently employed for the people of God; see, for example, the elaborate figure of Ezekiel 34, especially v 23, which names David as the *rô'eh* "shepherd" who will *rā'â* "tend" the flock (the root *r'h* occurs four times in this single verse).

The metaphor of shepherd and flock for the king and his people is very old in the biblical world. The prologue to the Code of Hammurapi describes that king as "shepherd, called by Enlil" (column I) and as "the shepherd of the people, whose deeds are pleasing to Ishtar" (column iv).[18] In

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[17] Beside 16:19, it occurs again 17:15, 17:20 and 28 (he is changing flocks), 17:34 (he knows how to defend the flock), 17:40, and cf. 2 Sam. 7:8; the book's last story shows David deeply concerned for the flock, II.24:17.

[18] *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (ed. James B. Pritchard; 2nd ed. Princeton: UP, 1955) 164-65. See further H.W.F. Saggs, *The Greatness That Was Babylon* (New York: Hawthorn, 1966) 371-72.

associating David immediately with the task of shepherding, 16A also associates him allusively with the kingship.[19]

This irony is greatly heightened by Saul's use of the same language in 16B. When he asks Jesse to release David to the court, he says, "Send me your son David who is with the flock (*'ăšer baṣṣō'n*)" (v 19). As a defining phrase in the request, the last words are otiose; Jesse has only one son David. They function rather to show Saul inviting David into his court, using, in his own words, language which refers allusively to him as a kingly figure.[20]

3. The presence of 16A also affects our understanding of other events in the early part of the story of David's rise. For example, it means that his success in defeating Goliath must be seen as flowing from his anointing and the gift of the spirit, rather than from sheer cleverness and courage (although, to be sure, Saul himself sounds the *Leitmotif* of YHWH's presence with David, 17:37). Since this event leads directly to other military ventures and to David's early reputation (18:1–7), the new king's larger successes arise not just from military prowess (as would be the case without 16A) but from the anointing and the enduement with the spirit. Only by the presence of 16A does David's kingship flow from the divine choice and from David's personal and spiritual, rather than military, qualities.

But there is also a deeper interrelationship between the two halves of chap 16, which will become clear through a closer look at each half.

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19 By contrast, Saul is never associated with sheep. When we first met him in 1 Sam 9, he is, to be sure, hunting lost livestock, but asses, not sheep. That figure must be reserved for the true king.

20 Note that LXX (most MSS) read "your flock," missing the allusion implicit in the aide's words; Lucian and a few other MSS agree with MT.

David's Selection. It is hardly necessary to say that 16A deals with the anointing of David as king and replacement to Saul. That the inclusio in vv 1 and 13 signals this has already been noted. The primary thematic and vocabulary connections of this segment are with what precedes rather than with 16B, and there are several striking similarities between this event and the story of Saul's anointing as king (chaps. 9–10).[21] For example:

a. Both were anointed at a cultic feast hosted by Samuel.

b. Neither expected it.

c. Both were unlikely candidates, Saul from the smallest tribe (9:21) and David the youngest son (16:11).

d. Both were striking in appearance, although in different ways (9:2, 16:12).

e. Both events were private or semi–private: Saul's anointing was strictly between him and Samuel (9:27–10:1), while only David's family seem to be present (16:13).

f. Both men were designated by YHWH. Saul: *hinnê hāîš 'ăšer* ... "This is the man who ..." (9:17). David: *kî-zeh hû'* "for this is he" (16:12).

g. Both men were "gripped" by the spirit following their anointing (10:10, 16:13).

h. The anointing of each was followed by public recognition, (Saul chap 11, David 2 Sam 2:4, 5:3), although this takes us beyond chap 16 into the wider narrative.

By means of these similarities, 16A indicates that David is the deliberate choice of YHWH and the legitimate

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21 These are apparent in any reflective reading of the text, and most recent writers on Samuel have observed some of them.

replacement for Saul. Therefore, when David comes to Saul in 16B, he does so as true king.

Saul's Rejection. Unlike Saul's anointing, the choice of David involves a sifting and selecting process in which YHWH/Samuel reject other possibilities. 16A signals this by its double use of the verb *mā'as* "reject." First, YHWH tells Samuel to stop mourning for Saul, *wa'ănî mĕ'astîw* "for I have rejected him" (v 1). The narrative here establishes a link with 15:26, "... you rejected YHWH's command, and YHWH has rejected you from being king over Israel" (where the verb *mā'as* is also used). But in addition, David's oldest brother Eliab is "rejected" (*mĕ'astîhû* v 7). This link between Eliab and Saul is strengthened by Eliab's height (*gābōah*), the same word being used of both men (9:2, 16:7). The point is both to stress David's utter legitimacy (even though he is the youngest) and to re–stress Saul's rejection. Mettinger has put it memorably, "Eliab is something of a "new Saul," so that in his rejection, Saul is denounced in effigy."[22]

Thus, when David comes to Saul in 16B, there is a strong sense in which the latter is no longer king.

Chapter 16B

16B is more complex than 16A, a fact already intimated by the inclusio (see above pp. 569–70), with which our discussion now moves ahead.

David's Music. YHWH's spirit has "left" Saul, but the evil spirit which replaces it can also be made to "leave" him, through David's musical gifts. At the narrative level, David's skill advances the action by making it possible for him to enter Saul's court; without those musical gifts, the

22 Tryggve N.D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah* (Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series 8; Lund: Gleerup, 1976) 175.

irony of Saul's inviting the new king into his own entourage would not be possible.

And beyond this, 16B is at pains to stress how beneficial David's presence is to Saul. The vocabulary used is that of improvement and soothing:

> *weṭôb lāk* "it will be good for you" v 16
> *werāwaḥ lĕšā'ûl* "Saul would find relief" v 23
> *weṭōb lô* "it would be good for him" v 23
> *wesārâ mē'ālāyw rûaḥ hārā'â* "the evil spirit would depart from him" v 23.

The use of the rare verb *rāwaḥ* in v 23 is especially striking (compare the same construction in Job 32:20), setting up a paronomasia with the word *rûaḥ* (consonants *rwḥ*) "spirit" (twice in the same verse, see also vv 14 *bis*, 15, 16). David is the one who can do Saul good. The fact that the b–inclusio (v.23) makes this its specific use of the key word *sārâ* suggests that David's benefit to Saul is an important part of the pericope's emphasis.

Gifts for the King. There is another possible intimation of hopefulness in this pericope, in the gifts which Jesse sent to Saul. They are three: bread, wine, and a kid (v 20). What is the function of these gifts? They were, according to Smith, "the modest present of a farmer to his king," for "it was not good form to approach the king without a present."[23] Stoebe argues that the gifts were those which a young warrior pledged to the holy war should bring along with him.[24] For Hertzberg they are "an understandable act of homage to the king."[25] Klein sees them as gifts to the king, but "the exact significance of the gift of a kid escapes us."[26]

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23 H.P. Smith, ICC, 149.

24 Hans Joachim Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis* (Gütersloh: Mohn 1973) 311-12.

25 H.W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel* (OTL; London: SCM, 1964) 141.

26 Ralph W. Klein, *1 Samuel* (Waco: Word, 1983) 166.

Now, Saul has encountered these same three gifts previously, when he left Samuel after being anointed king; he would meet, Samuel said, "three men making a pilgrimage to Bethel." They would be carrying the same three items, and would greet Saul and give him some of the bread (10:3–4). This was part of the sequence of events through which Saul was to be gripped by the spirit and become "another man" with "another heart" (10:6, 9).

In the present context of David's benefit to Saul's spirit, the narrative's evocation of the earlier encounter suggests that if Saul will accept the gifts of Jesse the Bethlehemite, including that of David's service, he may still live the life of the new man with a new heart. It is not too late, Saul. To be sure, it is too late to be king, but it is not too late to have the evil spirit dispelled; grace operates on the personal level even in Saul's rejection from office. The fact that Saul was unable to accept the boons of David's service does not change the text's implication that gracious benefits are in the new king's gift.

David and Saul are the light and the dark, with the young musician bringing relief to the troubled monarch.

All this is clear from 16B. The point I wish to make really has to do with the effect of linking 16A to 16B. I return to the conclusions from 16A above (pp 11–12). It is the true, anointed king who enters Saul's court, and the son of Kish is no longer the due and proper king. As the full chapter implies, the relationships between the two men is thus the reverse of the social relationship suggested by 16B alone. On the surface, a gifted young man enters the king's service in a personal capacity; but the full story is that YHWH's true king comes to serve one who no longer has royal status with YHWH.

It seems to me that this conclusion changes our understanding of how much the story intends to convey, and to whom. By linking the two narrative blocks 16A and B it offers a tacit interpretation of the simple action of David's

joining Saul's court. It is not interested merely in telling the story, but in requiring us to read and hear it in a certain way.

It would be usual to think of the meaning of this chapter to the covenant community primarily in terms of David's introduction to the kingship, and to Saul. Many commentators believe at least parts of this picture to be unhistorical, but infer from it certain theologoumena, such as that God has sovereign freedom to choose the king.[27] This is all to the good, but I believe that the story's features do not allow us to stop with the historical meaning. The text contains signals showing that, in its present form, it has set aside any meant/means distinction, and intends to be read for a religious meaning that speaks directly to the believing communities which did and do esteem it as scripture.

A Concept of the King

For a starting point, we return to the axis set up by the two verbs *ṣālaḥ* and *šālaḥ*. In the text's use of each, attention falls on David: the spirit will seize him, and he will be sent on the mission of kingship, exchanging the flock at Bethlehem for that of the people Israel (see note 17). The king is one endowed with the spirit so that he might bring relief to the troubled.

It appears to have been Samuel's concept of kingship that YHWH and the prophet could send the king on a mission. So, at least, he implied when he said to Saul, *wayyišlāḥăkā YHWH bĕderek* "YHWH sent you on a

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27 Ackroyd is especially good. "Political scheming, the fortunes of war, the death of Saul and his family — all these eventually made possible his kingship; but to the interpreter, all this stands within the purpose of God whose choice alone counts." *The First Book of Samuel* (Cambridge: UP, 1971) 133-34. (By "interpreter," I believe Professor Ackroyd means the editor who added 16A as a "new introduction to the David story" [p. 132]). Similarly, McCarter says that 16A shows "the propriety of divine election of the king by prophetic anointing" (278).

mission (15:18)."[28] In the present instance, as Samuel anoints Saul's successor, we understand that Saul's failure has not changed the concept of kingship: it is still the prophetic one in which the king is sent by YHWH to carry out the divine will.

But it is the benevolent character of the king's mission which is most striking. In chap 8 we learn the *mišpaṭ hammelek* "the practices of the king"; they are arrogant and exploitive. It shall not be so in Israel, for there the king's impact is *ṭôb lāk* "it will be good for you." Samuel's own mode of life was marked by moral and ethical probity, quite the opposite of the king's custom among Israel's neighbours (as his public vindication in 12:2b–5 shows). But even the great prophet was not exactly known as a bringer of comfort. When he arrived in Bethlehem to see Jesse, the village elders came out to meet him in fear and trembling (16:4). The mission of the new king is a contrast to both king and king–maker: he is one who will bring relief to the troubled.

And so the point required by reading the chapter as a whole is larger than the specific relationships between David and Saul. It is not just a handsome yokel with a rustic lyre who brings relief; it is the anointed king who plays the compassionate and healing role. The chapter thus deals with the kingship in a larger sense, setting forth in David a conception of what the king is to be. Israel has a beneficent kingship. The king is light to the people's dark.[29] As the "Last Words of David" say,

> He who rules men justly,
> He who rules in awe of God
> Is like the light of morning at sunrise,
> A morning without clouds —

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28 So JPS (see footnote 11).

29 Even if rejected from office, Saul would still belong to the *'am* "the people of God."

Through sunshine and rain
[Bringing] vegetation out of the earth.[30]

David's Comfort

There is a more explicit signal of the story's own wider reference in its excessive emphasis on David's skill with the lyre. Although his musical ability is the means of introduction into Saul's court, it is not necessary to this end in the larger narrative context, for David will be introduced to Saul all over again in chap 17 (David and Goliath). And even if this were the function of David's music in the story, the text would certainly have been indulging in overkill, for the verb *niggēn* "play (an instrument)" occurs five times here (16 *bis*, 17, 18, 23); in addition, it occurs in the same connection again in 18:10 and 19:9. This is seven times out of the verb's total use of fifteen in the entire Bible. The repetition of the word beyond what is necessary to advance the narrative, and in disproportionate occurrence, suggests that the story has more to say than merely to report David's arrival at Saul's court.

After his death, and especially after the fall of Jerusalem to Babylonian armies in 587 B.C., David remained alive in the tradition, not just as the ideal and coming king, but as the *nĕîm zĕmirôt yiśrā'ēl* "the sweet psalmist of Israel."[31] According to that tradition, he had been foremost among those who made music when the Ark came to Jerusalem (2

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30 See Keith Whitelam, *The Just King* (JSOTSS 12; Sheffield: JSOT, 1979) 29-37.

31 2 Sam 23:2, with RSV against JPS; cf. S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: UP, 1913) 357, " ... it is, grammatically, a perfectly legitimate rendering: but most moderns prefer" the other. So also Hertzberg p. 400. James L. Mays says, "The plural form given the consonants by the Masoretes may represent an interpretation of the text connecting David with Israel's songs," "The David of the Psalms," *Int* 40 (1986) 149. However, LXX (minus L) have a plural, and so the Masoretic tradition may go back into the biblical period.

Sam 6:5), he composed three poems found in the books of Samuel (the elegy for Saul and Jonathan 2 Sam 1:19–27, the psalm 2 Sam 22, and the "last words" 2 Sam 23:1–7), he organized the musical–prophetic guilds of the later temple (1 Chr 25:1), he was identified with a large number of the biblical psalms by being mentioned in their superscriptions, and had a prophetic reputation for being a musician (Amos 6:5).[32]

In this time beyond the kingship, David continued to provide comfort to the troubled, through the on–going use of the psalms. Although not the author of all of them, he was associated with the collection as a whole. Certainly even the darkest of Saul's moods might be found expressed in the Psalter (e.g. Ps 88), and it is therefore no accident that, in every age, people have turned to the psalms in their times of deepest spiritual need and distress. Thus, 16B's emphasis on David as a source of relief and comfort points beyond his immediate service to King Saul, to the biblical psalms as an on–going source of relief and comfort to all who are in need.

There is no way of knowing how the five–fold iteration of the verb *niggēn* entered the story, that is, whether an editor took a more discursive and factual account and strengthened it by repeated strokes on the lyre, or whether the story as we have it was originally formulated in just this way. But my argument is that, in this particular disproportionate emphasis on David's musical ability, the story calls for a reading beyond that of historical report. It contains signals pointing to its shaping and use for more than historical information. Its own meaning and field of reference have already been widened, so that it speaks directly to situations other than the historical one in which it had its origin.

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32 I speak here of David's reputation in the biblical tradition. On this subject, see the very helpful article by James Luther Mays (see preceding note).

The Story's Wider Reference

Now, to make this move — *from* reading the narrative for its concrete situation, *to* understanding it as saying something about the kingship rather than the king, or about the way in which David continues to bring relief to the troubled — is to suggest that the story intends to do more than speak to us about David and Saul, more even than to introduce David into the narrative in a way which foreshadows his later role as a musician. It is to assert that the story comes to us embodying an invitation to hear it speak to the people of God in many times and places. It is to take the distinctive content of 1 Samuel 16 and to read it with reference to the church in its continuing life and needs.

Now, there are indications that, in the exilic and post-exilic times, a time beyond king and kingship for the people of the covenant, the royal material in the Bible was given a new lease on life by two forms of reinterpretation: one was to point it to the future in messianic hope, as has been done with Isaiah 7–8 in its present literary context, and the other was to level it so that the king was understood figurally as every person within the covenant.[33]

A Messianic Reading. There is an indication of the former in the story's report that David was Jesse's eighth

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33 Here are a few of the considerations supporting the latter supposition. (a) Psalms which have superscriptions explicitly identifying the "I" of the psalm with David, nevertheless now come to us as torah, "Guidance," material for reflection and instruction by any who would move towards stability and prosperity. This is the effect of Psalm 1 upon the reading of all that follows, and it invites the reader to identify him/herself with David. (b) Psalms 2 and 149 — occupying analogous framing positions in the Psalter — each expresses vividly the idea that judgment shall be taken upon God's enemies, with this important difference, that in Ps 2 it is the king who does it, while in Ps 149 it is the people of God who do it. The covenant community has, so to speak, replaced the king. (c) I have elsewhere argued that such a re-reading of Ps 110 is required by its present juxtaposition to Ps. 109, the effect of which is to identify the king of Ps. 110 with the "needy" of the last words of Ps 109.

son. In 1 Chr 2:13–15, Jesse has seven sons and David is the seventh; this is also Josephus" telling of the story (Ant. VI.161–62), and the representation of this scene in the Dura synagogue shows a total of seven sons.[34] The number eight in our story, therefore, is curious, and I suggest that it is a witness to an eschatological reading. Since the world was created in seven days, eight is a suitable number to symbolize the beginning of the new order. Eight is not a pronounced symbolic number in the Bible, but the eschatological temple of the prophet Ezekiel makes some use of it (40:9, 31, 34, 37).[35] That David should be the eighth son is an intimation of his later role as the ideal king and prototype of the messiah. The point is that this feature of our story points towards a telling and reading of it which moves beyond a mere historical interest.

A Levelled Reading. I should like to carry this a step further, and suggest that the story may be read as paradigmatic of any and all of the people of God. Here I return specifically to the observation above that one axis along which the entire chapter may be interpreted is that provided by the two assonant verbs *ṣālaḥ* "seize" and *šālaḥ* "send." It is not just the king who is seized by the spirit of God so as to be sent on a mission of comfort and relief: that is the calling of all God's people.

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34 See Carl H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1956) 168.

35 The number eight came very early to play a role in Christian thought. Not only did Jesus" resurrection come to be placed on the eighth day, but the eighth day was the beginning of another world, in which God would replace the old sabbaths and give rest (*katapauō*, cf. *anapauō* 1 Sam 16:16, a plus in the LXX) to all things (Barnabas 15: 8-9; and see the numerous citations in G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* [Oxford:UP, 1961] 935 sub *ogdoos*). See also patristic comment on the superscription of Ps 6 ("On the eighth") in John Mason Neale, *A Commentary on the Psalms from Primitive and Mediaeval Writers* (London:, 1896), vol. 1, 123-24, and in Elizabeth Achtemeier, "Overcoming the World," *Int* 28 (1974) 77-78. It seems to me likely that this tradition rests on a Jewish substratum.

If this reading be accepted, 1 Samuel 16 may both be interpreted in its wholeness (each half is needed for the message even to become apparent) and with pertinence to the world of today's loyal followers of YHWH. In a world where inner distress and darkness are the experience of very many, the people of God are to bring comfort and relief; and they will do so by virtue of the gift of the divine spirit.

The Reader is Saul

This is a story about both David and Saul, and it is not hard to identify ourselves with Saul. Many people have failed in an important task, have trouble relating to someone more gifted, suffer the distress of dark moods.

It has been several decades since Karen Horneye wrote her book *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, but the title is still apt. The morning cable news reports that the daughter of Zsa Zsa Gabor has been taken to a Los Angeles psychiatric hospital, after being seen chasing her maid around the yard, and repeatedly stepping in front of moving cars in front of her house. An individual illness, no doubt, brought on by the life–style of the rich and famous. But it is also true that the enormous social changes of the sixties and the seventies have left many people with a sense of disorientation and depression. We know the temptation to hebephrenic behaviour.

We are troubled, and we need comfort.

The story suggests two things about this. No doubt individual disorders are linked to circumstances, and it is proper to think about how changing them might better our outlook on life. We are keenly aware of the need to make changes in society so that people will be able to lead a better life. There is nothing against all this in our story.

But, like so very much of life, Saul's circumstances could not be changed. He remained king for the time being, occupying his fortress–palace and surrounded by aides; but

the dynamic factor in his despair was intractable. The deepest darkness arises from situations which can probably not ever be changed. It is inner help which Saul needs.

The second thing is say is this. Another person can bring that help. Saul's aides found someone with the gift of music, and the king would find refreshment. No doubt there are times to talk only to God, and to receive inner reassurance directly from the divine presence. But we live in a world of people, and there are other times when what we need most is the support and encouragement of another person. We need someone to play the lyre for us, to reach us at a deep level with understanding and empathy, so that we can go on with life. For our trouble, we need help in the form of a person.

Our story tells us that this kind of help is there. Even the disobedient and rejected king was not beyond relief and comfort; his displacement in office had not displaced him from the grace of inner rest and peace.

The Reader is David

For Saul, a melancholy Heathcliff, brooding, disturbed, there is David, a sanguine shepherd, with a vocation of oversight and care. David is the people of God.

Here, too, the story suggests two things. The first is that this ministry of help exists because of the gift of the spirit. David is not called to Saul's court until the spirit has rushed upon him, seized him, gripped him. It is the essential enduement as he changes flocks. It is only chap 16 as a whole which shows this, for the divine presence (v 18) flows directly from the gift of the spirit (v 13), and this comes only with Samuel's anointing (see above p. 571).

The calling to bring support and peace to the troubled is one which we exercise only through help from beyond ourselves. In New Testament terms, all Christians have the gift of the spirit; it comes to believers in Christ and is the

means by which regeneration itself begins. But it is also the special enablement for the personal and supportive relationship which we have to other people as members of the covenant community. We do well to invite that enduement, as did Jesus' earliest followers, so that we may be David, in our immediate community, and in a troubled world.

The other thing to say is that, although David exercises this ministry in the power of a gift from beyond himself, he does so also with the gifts already in hand. The spirit of God did not teach him to play the lyre. The gift of the spirit does not normally bring new skills, but rather enhances and makes richly productive abilities already possessed. We reach out in a ministry of comfort and encouragement with the unique configuration of skills and abilities which we already possess and which we can acquire by study and training.

There was Uncle Venner in Hawthorne's *House of Seven Gables*: "a miscellaneous old gentleman, partly himself, but in large measure other people." I think part of that reference is to Uncle Venner's clothing; but it is a reminder that there are no miscellaneous people, and that God needs each of us in our individuality, for the calling of comfort and strength.

1 Samuel 16 is about both David and Saul, but especially about David. The seized–sent axis by which chap 16 presents David's relationship with Saul, and by which the kingship itself is designated a beneficent office, also speaks to all God's people about their role. I am seized so that I may be sent; gripped by the spirit so as to go out in a ministry of refreshment to the troubled. This is the light and the dark.

Thus is David presented when we first meet him in all the Bible. Such, also, was the calling of the second David, "great David's greater Son," who claimed for himself the prophetic charism:

> The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me;
> He has sent me to announce good news to the poor,
> to proclaim release for prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind;
> to let the broken victims go free,
> to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour.
> (Luke 4:18–19)

And it must therefore be our work, in a world where Saul is still king. So may it continue, until the antinomy of light and dark disappears, and we come to where there is no dark, because the Lamb is the light.

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PART D

APPENDIX

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ACADEMIC BIOGRAPHY OF PETER C. CRAIGIE

Harold Coward,
The University of Calgary

Peter Craigie was the son of Hugh Brechin Craigie and Lilia Campbell Murray. He was born at Lancaster on August 18, 1938. His secondary schooling was at The Edinburgh Academy.

After completing his schooling Peter served in the Royal Air Force 1956-58 achieving the rank of Pilot Officer. He ended his military career, stationed in the R.A.F. Administration Branch 2 i/c Mountain Rescue Unit in South Wales.

Following his military service Peter travelled to Canada. In Canada he worked as a ranch hand and lumberjack. He also did his earliest Biblical Studies as a student at the Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills, Alberta.

Returning to Scotland, Peter enrolled in an Honours Program in Semitic Languages and Literature at the University of Edinburgh, earning an M.A. (Hons) degree in 1965. He then entered the Department of Theology, University of Durham where he completed a two-year program for those intending ordination. There he met Steve Wilson, a classmate in the same program. The two became friends for life. In 1967 Peter was awarded a Diploma in Theology (with distinction). Moving to the University of Aberdeen, Peter completed the Master of Theology in 1968, a degree very close in quality to a North American Ph.D., with a thesis on "Ancient Semitic War Poetry."

In 1968 Peter returned to Canada and enrolled in the Doctoral Program at McMaster Univeristy. In 1970 he graduated with a Ph.D., his dissertation work having been done under the supervision of Eugene Combs. Speaking of Peter as a graduate student, Eugene Combs says "He studied

and learned with ease, with a delicate touch that seemed to waste no effort...his writing was objective in the best sense of the word; freed of himself it was the best of himself."[1] Peter and his teacher, Eugene Combs, remained close friends for life. Peter's research focused on the Hebrew Bible in relation to its ancient Near Eastern context, and in particular its relation to the literature and life of the Canaanites. His Ph.D. thesis was titled: "Earliest Israelite Religion: A Study of the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15:1-18)."

Following graduation from McMaster, Peter taught for one year at Carleton University, Ottawa, before returning to an appointment as Assistant Professor at McMaster University where he remained until 1974. In 1974 Peter was appointed Associate Professor and joined Terence Penelhum and Harold Coward who were in the throes of starting a new Religious Studies Department at the University of Calgary. At the same time, Peter had been offered the position of Principal of Huron College, University of Western Ontario, an offer he declined. At Calgary Peter played an active role in helping to shape the new program. In a Department that stressed excellence in teaching, Peter was consistently recognized as a first rate teacher. He was named "Best Humanities Instructor in the Faculty of Arts and Science (1975)", and "Superior Teacher (1976)." He was promoted to the rank of Professor in 1978.

In its early years the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Calgary depended for its development on support from the religious communities of the city. Peter's original appointment was funded by Calgary Interfaith with contributions from both Jewish and Christian congregations. Along with the other early members of the Department, Peter

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[1] Eugene Combs, "Address for Peter Presented at a Joint Meeting of CSSR, CSBS and CTS," June 4, 1986, Learned Societies Meeting, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

not only carried a heavier than normal teaching load, he also devoted much time to offering lectures for clergy and lay people in the community. His lectures for the Anglican Diocese were a particular high point, consistently drawing overflowing crowds. In recognition of his service to the church community he was awarded a D.D. (Honoris Causa) by St. Stephen's College, University of Alberta, and was named a Canon by the Bishop of the Anglican Diocese in Calgary. The number of general talks given by Peter to various community groups would be hard to estimate. From the Burns' Society to the Calgary Police, the Alberta Teachers' Association to the Jewish Ladies' Guild, Peter was in constant demand. He seldom declined a request to speak, and the requests were unending.

In academic life Peter's earlier administrative training in the military stood him in good stead. His talents in this area were quickly recognized. He served as Head, Department of Religious Studies 1977-78; Dean, Faculty of Humanities 1979-84; Associated Vice-President (Academic 1984-85, and Vice-President (Academic) July 1985 until his death in September 1985. He served on many of the important committees of the University, in particular General Faculties Council Executive Committee, Dean's Council Executive Committee and the President's Executive Advisory Committee. Outside the University Peter served as President of the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion (1979-81); President of the Canadian Society for Biblical Studies (1985); and was a member of the Board of Directors of The Canadian Federation for the Humanities. He served on several Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada Adjudication Committees and on the Council for the Society of Biblical Literature (USA). He played a major role in the Alberta Task Force on Organ Transplantation.

Although his teaching and administrative contributions were of the highest order, Peter's most significant and lasting contribution will be through his academic publications. He initiated a worldwide *Ugaritic Newsletter* which he edited until the time of his death. His books

focused on two areas: Bible Commentaries on Deuteronomy, Psalms, Exekiel, the Twelve Prophets and Jeremiah; and general and thematic introductions to the Old Testament, e.g. *The Problem of War in the Old Testament*, and *Ugarit and the Old Testament*, and *The Old Testament: Its Origin, Growth and Content.* He also published some thirty-four articles in journals such as *Vetus Testamentum*, *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Biblical Archaeology*, *Ugarit-Forschungen*, *The Tyndale Bulletin*, *Semitics*, *Interpretation* and *Studies in Religion.* In addition to publishing high quality technical research, Peter also thought it important to make the results of Biblical scholarship known to the general public. To this end he published some thirteen pieces in more popular journals such as *Christianity Today*, *The Chelsea Journal* and *Crux.* He was twice honoured by being invited to Cambridge, England by the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical and Theological Research to give special lectures in 1970 and 1982.

In his short academic career, Peter Craigie made a very large contribution. In his own work and in his teaching of others, he exhibited scholarship of the highest quality. Although sought after as an administrator and teacher, Peter's greatest joy was in his research and writing. To work quietly away on an article or book, to discover a Ugaritic parallel that gave new meaning to a Hebrew word, to reflect in a broad way on Spinoza or the philosophy of education, these were Peter's truly happy moments. One year before his death, Peter and his family moved west of the City of Calgary to an acreage. The white house, situated on the crest of a hill, faces west to a panorama of the Rockies. Peter's study faced these mountains. It was his plan to gradually withdraw from administrative activities and devote his life to writing in this quiet and inspiring environment. His early death denied him this scholarly delight. It denied to us the creativity, stimulation and wisdom those writings would have given.

Confucius' characterization of the "gentleman scholar" as being a blend of *li*, "propriety," and *jen*, "human-

heartedness" is an apt description of the way Peter functioned as administrator, teacher and scholar. Added to these were the qualities of Scottish humor and Christian love that made Peter Craigie a very special colleague. He is deeply missed.

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REFLECTIONS
A Memorial Service for Peter Craigie
October 2, 1985

Dr. Norman Wagner
President, The University of Calgary

My dear friends and colleagues. During these two days, we have gathered to come to terms with a tragic loss. To be the last speaker is not an easy task. Some of us are speakers, in fact we even think of ourselves as orators, but suddenly, we, like the rest of you, are speechless. The words will not come. Quite properly, the tears begin but soon our eyes are dry. We lash out in anger, frustration, and despair. Even then the answers fail and we feel alone and abandoned.

All the support systems, built up over the centuries in our society, are taxed to the limit as we seek solace from one another. Yesterday, in the impressive liturgy of the Church, we joined throngs of believers over thousands of years as we searched and prayed and praised God and supported one another. Today, we do the same.

Our memories of Peter are vivid and precious and largely personal. Thousands of students recall a master teacher. Colleagues will never forget the zeal and meticulous concern for detail. And I wish to thank the colleagues from other parts of Canada for being here today. We all remember the ready smile, the constant twinkle, the helping hand. For me, there are 15 years of intense and dynamic give and take and constant support. For all of that, I am so very thankful and so is each of us in a special private way.

It was truly my privilege to spend part of his last night with Peter. Betty and I humbly believed that we might provide some strength and comfort to him. Yet, as I held Peter's hand, I felt that he was trying to strengthen us. It

was almost as if he was telling us to get on with the job. To finish the exciting agenda which had been set in place. And so we must.

Perhaps the ultimate irony, for me at least, is the fact that Peter and I spent many hours discussing the problem of "theodicy" — that is the rightness or the justness of God. In short, we tried to comprehend, to the best of our ability, whether or not punishment and even death is to be regarded as the result of sin, of disobedience, or is it all just a twist of fate?

No biblical writer addresses this complex problem more clearly than does the author of the Book of Job. Here we have the perfect Sheik who has everything a truly pious person could expect. To top it all, he was called perfect by God himself. Then suddenly, Job, of all people, was struck down. On behalf of all others, perhaps ourselves included, the writer probes the problem.

Job challenges the Almighty to a debate but is frustrated by the lack of answer. He turns to a hypothetical court case and again he is met with silence. Finally, after threats and demands, Job is still left with only silence.

What a lesson, or parable if you like, do we have in that story for us today. In our many debates, Peter and I concluded that the only answer to the problem of Job was to be found in the words of the so-called fourth friend, one named Elihu, often regarded as totally irrelevant by Biblical scholars. The answer suggested by Elihu begins with a rebuke for our brashness in demanding an answer. Who wants a God who gives in to your demands and answers your questions on your terms? Elihu in fact says that there may be an umpire, a defense attorney, whatever it is that Job has proposed, but the terms are not ours. The answer comes from God to Mankind, not vice versa. When the answer comes, we will know what questions we should have been asking. I need to learn from that insight and I hope that you can as well.

Today, we are celebrating a life lived for others by means of a memorial service. Again, if we might turn to the Old Testament, the concept of a memorial is much more than simple remembering. A Psalmist once said "my soul is cast down within me, therefore I remember."

In the Old Testament, remembering was an act of recreating and reliving. The retelling of past events was an invitation to re-experience past victories. Perhaps the most dramatic remembrance from the Bible is that of the Lord's Supper itself.

My hope for all of us is that we truly remember our dear friend Peter and from this act of remembering, draw the strength needed to continue in his noble tradition. Nothing could be a finer tribute.

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